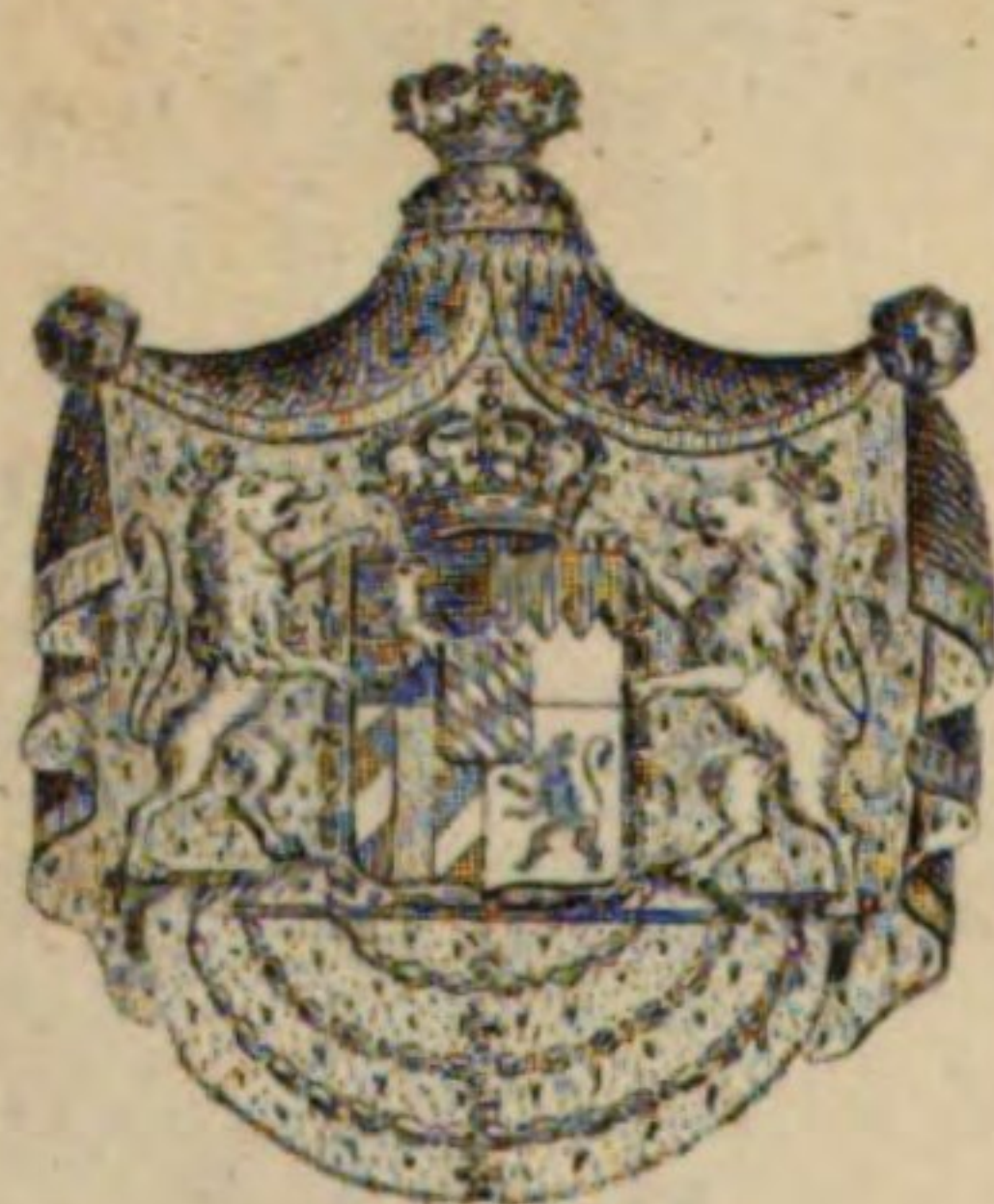




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V.
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APPELLANT
V.
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
APPEE

WOLF
JULY 10, 1964

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
V.
DAVID L. RAY

State Worthies:
OR, THE
STATESMEN
AND
FAVOURITES
OF
ENGLAND
FROM THE
REFORMATION
TO THE
REVOLUTION.

THEIR
PRUDENCE and POLICIES, SUCCESSES and
MISCARRIAGES, ADVANCEMENTS and FALLS.

By DAVID LLOYD.

To this Edition is added the Characters of the Kings and
Queens of England, during the above Period; with a
Translation of the Latin Passages, and other Additions.

In TWO VOLUMES.

By CHARLES WHITWORTH, Esq;

VOL. II.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. ROBSON, Bookseller to her Royal High-
ness the Princess Dowager of Wales, in New Bond-Street.
M,DCC,LXVI.

THE

OF

STATUTES

A

FAVORABLE

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AND

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PROBATION AND PROBATION, SUCCESS AND
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County of England, during the reign of Henry
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M.DCCC.



T H E
S T A T E S - M E N
A N D
F A V O U R I T E S
O F
E N G L A N D,

I N
The Reign of King *James* I.

Observations on the Life of
King J A M E S I.

APIN observes that king James I. had
for historians, men very much prepos-
sessed in his favour, or extremely preju-
diced against him. This naturally fol-
lowed from the divisions to which he himself
had given birth. Some represent him as a per-
fect pattern of a good king: others blacken
his reputation as much as possible, by aggra-
vating his failings. The reason of this diver-
sity proceeds from the history of his reign,
being penned at a time when the animosity

Willon.
Coke.
Weldon.
Annals.
Sanderfon.

James I of the two parties was at the height, whence both have happened to leave in their writings evident marks of their passion. Therefore the character of this prince must not be formed, either upon the praises of the one, or the invectives of the other, but upon his manner of governing, upon his speeches and actions. This might be done by recollecting the principal circumstances of his reign. But to save the reader the pains, (continues Rapin) I shall briefly relate, what is said on both sides, of which he will be able to judge.

The principal ingredient in king James's panegyrick is the constant peace he caused his subjects to enjoy. This cannot be said to be the effect of chance, since it clearly appears to have been his sole, or, at least, chief aim in his administration. Nothing, say his friends, is more noble or more worthy a great king, than such a design. But this design loses all its merit, if the prince is discovered by his conduct to preserve peace only out of fear, supineness, excessive love of ease and repose, and king James's whole behaviour shews he acted by these motives, though he coloured it with the pretence of affection for his people.

Bacon

Coke, p 176

If some take care to extol his knowledge in philosophy, divinity, history, polite learning, others affirm it was but real pedantry, and that from all his acquired knowledge he learnt only to talk very impertinently on every subject, instead of framing solid and sure rules for the government of his dominions.

Coke, p 180

His liberality, which some praise, is exclaimed against by others as prodigality. These pretend he

he gave without measure and discretion, without James's
any regard to his own wants, or the merits of
those on whom he heaped his favours.

The same contrariety occurs between king Williams
James's historians with respect to his capacity.
Some call him for his wisdom, the *Solomon* of Coke, p 176
the age. Others endeavour to display all his er-
rors, particularly in the two sole important af-
fairs of his reign, wherein he came off very ill,
namely, the prince his son's marriage, and his
son-in-law's election to the kingdom of Bo-
hemia.

Some extol him for maintaining the preroga-
tive royal in its full lustre, in spite of the efforts
of those who were continually attacking it.
Others pretend, he had conceived very wrong
ideas of the English constitution, and by aiming
to carry the regal authority too high, and instil-
ling the same principles into his successor, he
was the first cause of his family's ruin.

As to his manners, writers are no less divided.
Some describe him as a very wise and virtuous
prince, whilst others speak of him as a prince
of a dissolute life, given to drinking, and swear-
ing in common conversation, especially when he
was in a passion. He is likewise reproached for
dissolving the earl of Essex's marriage, pardon-
ing the earl and countess of Somerset, for the
death of sir Walter Raleigh, and for confidently
calling God to witness in full parliament, that he
had never any thoughts of granting the papist's
a toleration, which he could affirm but by means
of some mental reservation.

Echard
Weldon
p 179, 186
Coke, p 71

Burnet, p 17

In fine, whilst some praise his moderation and
equity to the catholicks, others pretend to de-

Coke
Burnet

James I monstrate he was a papist in his heart, and only professed the protestant religion out of fear of what might follow, in case he openly declared for the catholick. If some say, in proof of his being a good protestant, that he made constant profession of the established religion, persevered in it to his death, and when dying, charged the prince his son to protect the church and clergy; others answer, this is far from a demonstration. They pretend, the point is not to know what he would appear to be, but what he was in reality, and that his actions belied his outward profession: that the same thing had happened to him in Scotland, where till the age of thirty-six years, he had professed a religion which he mortally hated, as plainly appeared afterwards. That when he came to England, he declared himself openly the protector of the papists: took their part on all occasions: promoted them to honours, dignities, publick offices: that in his reign the laws against them were never duly executed, of which he boasted to the catholick princes in his apology concerning the oath of allegiance: that in all his speeches, whether in the parliament or the star-chamber, his constant aim was to move his subjects to consent to a full toleration for the catholicks: but not finding the parliament inclined as he wished, he granted, by his sole authority, a toleration in effect, by hindering the execution of the laws, and discharging the condemned recusants from fines, and other penalties: that in his conventions with Spain and France, he positively promised to cause no more laws to be enacted against the papists, and those already in force not to be executed; and that on all occasions, he affected

fectcd to shew he found nothing amiss in the Ro- James I
man religion, but the pope's exorbitant power
over princes : that by giving the pope the titles
of holy father, his holiness, and by consenting
that his son's children should be educated in the
Roman religion till the age of thirteen years, he
plainly discovered he should not be sorry for their
continuance in that religion : lastly, his engage-
ments with the archbishop of Ambrun is a fresh
and manifest proof of his being a true papist.
To this the others reply, it is not possible to
conceive, that if king James had been a papist
in his heart, he would have spent a considerable
part of his time in writing books against the po-
pish religion, and combating the arguments of
Bellarmine, and Du Perron.

Having related what is said for and against
king James, with respect to his religion, I shall
take the liberty to offer my opinion or conjecture,
which is, that this prince was truly neither a
sound protestant, nor a good catholick. One
can hardly help owning, that he had never much
at heart the interest of the protestant religion,
as on the other hand, it cannot be denied, he
made publick and constant profession of the
same to his dying day. This induces me to
think he had formed a scheme of religion diffe-
rent from that of others, according to which he
counted of no moment, what the protestants and
catholicks looked upon as essential. The diffe-
rence between the two religions, with respect to
the tenets, was not what affected him most. He
believed, probably, that every religion was
good, provided it taught obedience to sove-
reigns, and preserved the hierarchy, which he

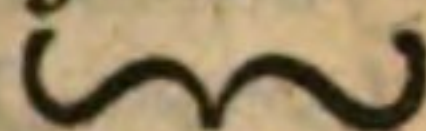
James I considered as a fundamental article. It is therefore no wonder, that, agreeably to this scheme, he should refuse to enter into the measures of the English protestants, to hinder the growth of the Romish religion in England, or not scruple to continue in the religion he professed, since, according to his notions, the two religions were equally good, provided the pope's despotick power was abolished. I scarce doubt, that in his conferences with the archbishop of Ambrun, he had in view the chimerical project of reconciling the two religions, without troubling himself about the tenets which divided them, and which, in one of his speeches he called scholastic questions. But, very probably, if he could have executed this project, according to his ideas, all the advantage would have been on the side of the Romish religion. This, in my opinion, is the only way to excuse his condescension to the catholicks, and his zeal to protect them. Otherwise, I don't see how his doubtful behaviour, with regard to religion, can well be accounted for. This may also serve to discover the reason of his rejecting with so much animosity, the religion of the puritans, whose principals he believed directly contrary to the scheme he had formed.

But whatever may be said for and against king James's person, it is certain, England never flourished less than in his reign, and the English saw themselves exposed to the insults and raileries of other nations, whilst the blame was generally cast on the king. The following epigram made in France in his time, is a clear evidence in what esteem he was with his neighbours :

Tandis

*Tandis qu' Elizabeth fut Roy,
L'Anglois fut d'Espagne l'effroy.
Maintenant, devise et caquette,
Regi par la Reine Jaquette.*

James I



That is literally in *English*.

*Whilst Elizabeth was King,
The English were of Spain the Terror.
But now, governed by Queen Jaquet,
They only talk and prattle.*

As to the king's person, though his father and mother were esteemed the handsomest couple of the age they lived in, yet he was himself but homely, nor in any of his features was to be found the least resemblance of the beautiful Mary Stuart, or lord Darnley. Welwood p 17

*Observations on the Lives of the Cliffords,
Earls of Cumberland.*

THE name hath been for three ages ancient and noble, and in this last age warlike and serviceable: They had the government of the North in their own right for an hundred years, and the hereditary sheriff-dom of Westmorland in right of the Viponts their relations for *two*.----Henry the first earl of Cumberland, was raised by Henry the eighth to that honour, 1525, for his service at Tournay and Berwick. Henry his son was by queen

James I queen Mary honoured with the garter for his conduct against Wyat; and by queen Eliz. graced with peculiar favours for his industry, integrity and vigilance in the North. As nature, so nobility *subsists and growes by the same thing that it is made of*: Vertue that creates, supports it.

*Observations on the Life of the Lord
George Clifford.*

“ **G**Eorge Clifford, lord Clifford, Vescye, &c.
 “ Earl of Cumberland, was son to Henry
 “ second earl of that family, by his second lady;
 “ a person wholly composed of true honour and
 “ valour, whereof he gave the world a large
 “ and clear demonstration.

“ It was resolved by the judicious in that age,
 “ The way to humble the Spanish greatness, was
 “ not in pinching and pricking of him in the
 “ Low-Countries, which only emptied his veins
 “ of such blood as was quickly refilled: But the
 “ way to make it a cripple for ever, was by cut-
 “ ting off the Spanish sinews of war, his monies
 “ from the West-Indies [the back-door robs the
 “ house.] In order whereunto this earl set forth
 “ a small fleet on his own cost, and adventured
 “ his own person therein, being the best born
 “ Englishman that ever hazarded himself in that
 “ kind. His fleet may be said to be bound for
 “ no other harbour but the port of honour, tho’
 “ touching at the port of profit in passage there-
 “ unto; I say, touching, whose design was not
 “ to enrich himself, but impoverish the enemy.

“ He

“ He was as merciful as valiant, (the best me- James r
 “ tal bends best) and left impressions of both in
 “ all places where he came. Queen Eliz. anno
 “ 1592, honoured him with the dignity of the
 “ garter. When king James came first out of
 “ Scotland to York, he attended him with such
 “ an equipage of followers for number and ha-
 “ bit that he seemed rather a king, than earl of
 “ Cumberland. Here happened a contest be-
 “ tween the earl and the lord president of the
 “ north, about carrying the sword before the
 “ king in York; which office, upon due search
 “ and enquiry was adjudged to the earl, as be-
 “ longing unto him: and whilst Clifford’s tower
 “ is standing in York, that family will never be
 “ therein forgotten. His anagram was as really
 “ as literally true:

“ *Georgius Cliffordius Cumberlandius.*

“ *Davidis regno clarus cum vi fulgebis.*

He died anno 1605, leaving one daughter and
 heir, the lady Anne, married to the earl of Dorset.

This noble person taught the world, however
 others speak at pleasure, *jussit quod splendida, bilis:*
That the art of making war hath not a positive form,
and that it ought to be diversified according to the
state of occurrences. They that will commit no-
 thing to fortune, nor undertake any enterprize
 whose event appeareth not infallible, escape many
 dangers by their wary conduct, but fail of as ma-
 ny successes by their unactive fearfulness. It’s
useless to be too wise, and spend that time in a
 grave gaze on business, that might serve the speedy
 dispatch of it. Neither was our *peer* great on-
 ly in the atchievements of the field to please high-
 er spirits, but gaudy at court to astonish and ra-
 vish

James I wish the lowest; making noble expences when necessary, and appearing splendid on the important occasions, whose principal quality resided in magnificence. Yet was he not transported with these appearances, or to make them the greatest ornament of his conduct: the choicest expressions of his life, fixing neither his greatness upon a transitory pageant, nor his glory upon a fading pomp. No sullen opposer of the unavoidable occurrences of life; but a dexterous complier with present exigencies, comparing those that swelled doggedly against providence, or the present state of affairs to king Canutus, who forbade the unobservant waves of the sea to flow no higher; and those that repined at and spoke against it to Xerxes, who whipped the Hellespont.

*Observations on the Life of Sir
Thomas Smith.*

“*Sir Thomas Smith* was born at Abington in
 “*Bark-shire*, bred in the university of Oxford:
 “*God and himself* raised him to the eminency
 “*he attained unto*, unbefriended with any ex-
 “*traction*. He may seem to have had an in-
 “*genious emulation* of *sir Thomas Smith senior*,
 “*secretary of state*, whom he imitated in many
 “*good qualities*, and had no doubt equalled in
 “*preferment*, if not prevented by death. He at-
 “*tained only to be master of the requests*, and
 “*secretary to king James* for his latine letters:
 “*higher places expecting him*, when a period
 “*was put at once to his life and to his hopes*,
 Novemb.

“ Novemb. 28, 1609. The generous piety of James I
“ the honourable countess of Exeter having erect-
“ ed him one monument at Fulham, and his own
“ worth another in history.

His father died, when he was yet so young, that he knew not what a father meant: but his mother's affection for her husband died not with him; whereupon she multiplyed her cares on this Gentleman and her other children so abundantly, that a long while he little found the want of that dear name, her transcendent love so well supplying the place of both relations: for no sooner was he fit to learn, than she did by friends procure the best masters those times afforded, to render his education perfect in those exercises as well of the mind as of the body, wherein they that flattered him not, would say he was no ill proficient: such *majesty*, such *modesty* in his carriage, that men would admire how two such distant things could meet in one subject. His eye was quick and piercing, his shape and motion charming; the air and lineaments of his countenance lively arguments that his soul was not inferiour to his body,—but that the one promised no more *pleasure* to those that looked on it, than the other did *service* to those that employed it: his *merit* deserving preferment from the favour of a Sovereign, and his parts gaining it from his justice. Fortune did him not so much wrong in his mean birth, as he did himself right by *great merit*, so worthy a prince's service, and a *court's* favour: he read and saw what others did, but not with others apprehensions; his judgment of things being not common, nor his observations low, flat, or vulgar, but such as became a breast now furnishing itself for business and for government. There

James I

There was an ancient custom to celebrate the anniversary of the king's coronation with all the shews of magnificence and joy which the art or affections of the people could invent; and because we are esteemed the warlik'st nation in the whole world, to continue that just regulation, we declined all those effeminacies which are so predominant in other courts, and absolutely addicted ourselves to such martial exercises as are nothing less pleasing and delightful than the other, and yet fit, and prepare men for the real use of arms, and acquisition of glory. Here our knights praise came to my lord of Carlisle's notice, who first designed him a commander; but finding his *genius* more courtly than *martial*, more learned than active, recommended him to his majesties softer services, where none more obliging to the people by his industry and interest at court, none more serviceable to his majesty by the good name he gained in the countrey: so careful was he of publick content, that from five to nine his chamber was open to all *Comers*; where you would find him with the one hand making himself ready, with the other receiving letters; and in all this hurry of business, giving the most orderly, clear, and satisfactory dispatches of any statesman at that time. From nine to one he attended his master, to whom he had as easie access as he gave to his people. Two things set him up; 1. A fair respect from his master upon all occasions, and as fair a treatment of the people: he had his distinct classes of affairs, and his distinct officers for those classes: the order and method whereof incredibly advanced his dispatch, and eased his burden; which took up his day so, that,

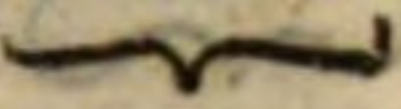
that there remained but some hours he stole from James I. night and sleep, for his beloved and dear studies; and king James said he was the hardest student in White-Hall--and therefore he did not always trouble his master with business, but sometimes please him with discourse. If Fortune had been as kind to him as nature, greater employments had been at once his honour and his business: but from all his services and performances, he derived no other advantage than the acting of them; and at his death he left no other wealth behind him, but that of a high reputation: never arriving at those enjoyments that enhance our cares, not having time to withdraw himself from those cares that take away the relish of our enjoyments.

*Observations on the Life of Sir
Fulke Grevil.*

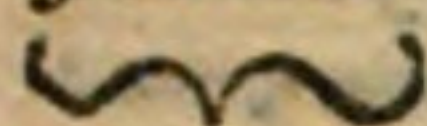
Sir Fulke Grevil, son to sir Fulke Grevil the elder, of Becham Court in Warwick-shire, descended from Willoughby lord Brook, and admiral to Hen. 7. was bred first in the university of Cambridge: he came to court, backed with a full and fair estate; and queen Elizabeth loved such substantial courtiers as could plentifully subsist of themselves: He was a good scholar, loving much to employ (and sometimes to advance) learned men, to whom worthy bishop Overal chiefly owed his preferment; and mr. Cambden (by his own
con-

James 1 confession) feasted largely of his liberality. His studies were most in poetry and history, as his works do witness: his stile conceived by some to be swelling, is allowed lofty and full by others. King James created him baron Brook of Beauchamp-court, as descended from the sole daughter and heir of Edward Willoughby, last lord Brook, in the reign of king Henry 7th. His sad death, or murder rather, happened on this occasion: his discontented servant conceiving his deserts not soon, or well enough rewarded, wounded him mortally, and then (to save the law the labour) killed himself; verifying the observation, that he may when he pleaseth be master of another mans life, who contemneth his own. He lyeth buried in Warwick church under a monument of black and white marble, whereon he is stiled, servant to queen Elizabeth, counsellour to king James, and friend to sir Philip Sidney.

Though a favourite, he courts ladies rather than honour, and pursued his study rather than his ambition, being more contemplative than active: others ministered to queen Elizabeth government, this gentleman to her recreation and pleasures: he came to court when all men should, young, and staid there until he was old; his fortune being as smooth as his spirit, and the queens favour as lasting as his merit. He bred up *Statesmen*, but was *none*. Sir William Pickering was like to have gained the queens bed by studying, sir Philip Sidney had her heart for writing, and sir Fulke Grevil had her favour for both: one great argument for his worth, was his respect of the worth of others; desiring to be known to posterity under no other notions than
of

of Shakespear's and Ben Johnson's master, James I
 chancellor Egerton's patron, bishop Overal's lord, 
 and sir Philip Sidney's friend. His soul had the
 peace of a great fortune, joined to a greater
 mind: his worth commended him to majesty;
 his affableness endeared him to the popularity:
 his mornings were devoted to his books, his af-
 ternoons to his knowing friends, his nights to his
 debonair acquaintance: he was the queens coun-
 fellor for persons, as others were for matters and
 things: sweet was his disposition, winning his
 converse, fluent his discourse, obliging his looks,
 gestures, and expressions; publick his spirit, and
 large his soul: his genius prompted him to pre-
 pare himself for domestick services by foreign em-
 ployments, but the great mistress of her subjects
 affections and duties forbad it, and his own pru-
 dence checked it. So dear was he to the queen,
 that when his horses were shipped at Dover for
 the Netherlands, her mandate by Sir Edward
 Dier stopped him: when he went over with Wal-
 singham, he was remanded; and when with Lie-
 cester, he was checked: he was the exact image
 of action and quiet happily united in him, sel-
 dom well divided in any. He would have acted
 his great principles of Government, yet he could
 be confined only to write them. He could sit
 down with some poetick and polite characters of
 virtue, when he was debarred the real exercises
 of it. * He had kept Essex his head on, had not
 that unhappy man's parasites made the earl deaf
 to his counsels, and his enemies removed *him* from
 his presence, under a pretence of guarding the
 seas against his enemies, while his *kinsman* was
 betrayed by his friends. Ob-

* In his book called, The Declination of Monarchs.



Observations on the Life of Sir Robert Cecil.

Born 1550, died 1612.

Sir Robert Cecil, since earl of Salisbury, was the heir of lord Burleigh's prudence, the inheritour of his favour, and by degrees a successor to his places, though not to his lands, for he was a younger brother. He was first secretary of state, then master of the wards, and in the last of her reign came to be lord treasurer; all which were the steps of his fathers greatness, and of the honour he left to his house. For his person, he was not much beholden to nature, though somewhat for his face, which was the best part of his outside: but for his inside, it may be said he was his father's own son, and a pregnant proficient in all discipline of state. He was a courtier from his cradle, yet at the age of twenty and upwards, he was much short of his after-proof; but exposed, and by change of climate he shewed, what he was, and what he would be: He lived in those times, wherein the queen had most need and use of men of weight; and amongst able ones, this was a chief, as having a sufficiency from his instructions that begat him the tutorship of the times and court, *then* the academy of art and cunning, when English prudence and counsel was at the highest, as most exercised with foreign dangers, and domestick practices. Vast was his apprehension, because so large his
prof-

prospect; Sir Francis Walsingham having open- James I
 ed the conclave of Rome, and his father the
 cabals of Spain; insomuch that he knew each
 design in both places, every port, every ship
 with the burthens, whither bound, what impe-
 diments, for diversion of enterprizes, counsels,
 and resolutions, as appears by his private dis-
 patches (as his manner was) with those of the
 council, one whereof to my lord Mountjoy, since
 earl of Devonshire, with whom he seasonably
 closed, runs thus--

* ----- *I must in private put you out of doubt (for
 of fear I know you cannot be otherwise sensible
 than in a way of honour) that the Spaniard will
 not come to you this year: for I have it from my
 own what preparations are in all parts, and what
 he can do: for be confident he beareth up a repu-
 tation by seeming to embrace more than he can gripe:
 but the next year be assured he will cast over unto
 you some forlorn hopes; which how they may be
 re-inforced beyond his present ability, and his first
 intention, I cannot as yet make any certain judg-
 ment: but I believe out of my intelligence, that you
 may expect their landing at Munster; and the
 more to distract you in several places, as at King-
 sale, Beer-haven and Baltimore, where you may
 be sure (coming from sea) they will first fortifie and
 learn the strength of the rebels before they dare take
 the field.*

This states-man's character is engraven upon
 his honour, and his portraicture drawn in his pa-
 tent for earl of Salisbury; which to many formal

VOL. II. C words

James I. words hath added these effectual expressions---As
 also for his faithfulness, circumspection, stoutness,
 wisdom, dexterity, providence and care not only in
 weighty affairs of counsel, but generally also in all
 other expeditions of the realm.

And indeed not a man upon the helm of this
 common-wealth understood all points of the com-
 pass better than himself, who in a stayed and calm
 settledness looked on the private designs that
 were promoted upon his mistress declining, and
 privately overthrewed them and their masters,
 while in an uninterrupted course of integrity to-
 wards his mistress, and faithfulness to his coun-
 trey, he kept clear the succession, equally care-
 ful not to enjealous his present mistress, and not
 to obstruct his future master, with whom he kept
 an honest correspondence, although there goeth
 this story of him, that a post from Scotland meet-
 ing her majesty upon Greenwich-heath, sir Robert
 Cecil in all hast would needs cut open the packet,
 and pretending it stunk, had time to perfume it
 [her majesty being very curious in her smelling]
 and convey away his own letters: be this so or
 so, it's certain, that when assistant to the earl of
 Derby in his French embassie, he promoted the
 young king of Scots interest against his mother's:
 when sir Francis Walsingham's colleague, he de-
 feated her counsels against him; and when prin-
 cipal secretary, he founded, crossed, and undid
 the little plot that was shrouded under the great
 name of Essex, turning and winding, raising and
 ruining the authors of it at his own pleasure. No
 sooner was the queen dead, than his Messenger
 was with the king at Edenburgh, and he himself
 with his favourite [sir George Humes] at York;
 with

with whose assistance, and honest sir Roger Aston's James I mediation, king James makes him his bosome-friend, *his* house [Theobalds] his residence, and his account of the English laws, government, and temper his *rule*: finding him but knight and secretary, he created him baron of Essenden, viscount Cranbourn, knight of the garter, and earl of Salisbury: *he* promoted him master of the wards and lord treasurer; in all which capacities how vigilant he was against the papists, and their plots, their *libels* (which he answered in English and * *Latine* very elegantly and wisely) demonstrate--how careful of the publique treasure this narrative shews.

King James had bestowed upon sir Robert Carr twenty thousand pound: my lord apprehending the sum as more correspondent with his master's goodness, than his greatness, with the royalty of his heart, than the poverty of his exchequer; and observing his majesty more careful of what money passed his own hands, than what passed his servants, contrives that the good king should go through the place where this great sum lay in silver to a treatment; where demanding whose money it was, and being answered, that it *was his own before he parted with it*, he understanding the design, protested he was cheated, and intended not above five hundred pounds; and the favourite was glad to make use of the lord treasurer's mediation for the *moyety* of that great sum. How industrious in the improvement of his master's revenue, these particulars conclude, viz.

C 2

I. A

* Adversus perduelles.

James I. 1. A survey of the crown-lands known before by report rather than by measure; and let by chance, rather than knowledge. 2. A revival of the custody lands revenue by commissioners of assents. 3. A survey of crown-wood-lands, their growth and value; where he numbered, marked, and valued all the timber hitherto unknown. 4. The commissioners he procured to look into copy-hold-lands, wastes, and commons. 5. The rules to forfeited estates and extended lands. 6. The improvement of the customs from 86000 to 135000 pounds per annum. 7. The bargain about the London river-water. 8. The encouragement of all English inventions, manufactures, and trade, whereby the subjects might be employed, our commodities enhanced, and our treasure kept among ourselves. 9. The plantations, and transplantations in Ireland. And 10. The reformation of the court of wards in the point of disposing of orphans. These services advanced him to great honour, and to as great envy, the popular effects whereof no man could have escaped but one whose soul was immovable, temper calm, thoughts deep, apprehensions large, and resolution great to engage vulgar errors rather by the greatness of his actions, than the eminence of his interest--And satisfy the world leisurely by his virtues, and not awe it rashly by his power; which got him even in that time St. Gregories encomium, *That he was the first bad, and the last good treasurer since Queen Elizabeth's reign.*

I shall never forget his, or his father's discourse with Claud Grollart, premier president of Roan, about the troubles in France, wherein he advised him

him to stick fast to the king, though he saw difficulties: for it was his maxim, That kings are like the sun, and usurpers like falling-stars; for the sun, though it be effuscated and eclipsed with mists and clouds, at length they are dispersed; where the others are but the figures of stars in the eyes of view, and prove no more but exhalations, which suddainly dissolve, and fall to the earth, where they are consumed: a discourse which events there and elsewhere made an oracle.

*Observations on the Life of the
Lord Howard of Effingham,
Earl of Nottingham.*

Born 1536, died 1624.

THE lord Howard of Effingham, a man of most approved fidelity and invincible courage, and governour of Callice; though a courtier sometimes; yet seemed not to be in favour before the queen made him high admiral of England. For his extract, it may suffice that he was the son of a Howard, and of a duke of Norfolk. As to his person, he was as goodly a gentleman as the times could afford; he was one whom the queen desired to honour, who at his return from Cadiz accounts, was created earl of Nottingham. He was a good, honest, and a brave man, and a faithful servant to his mistress, and such a one as the queen out of her own princely judgment knew to be a fit instrument for the admiral's service,

James I having a great opinion of his fidelity and conduct: and though his death was not honoured with much wealth, yet was it graced with the reputation of honesty. He was raised to check Essex his ambition, and Leicester's undermining, being equally popular, and honest, yet having those at his heels that could lay a snare, and bring in the prize. Nature was a better friend to him than fortune, and his integrity than both; which commended him to a mistress that understood men as well as books, and knew it was no less the interest of princes to take counsel concerning persons, than concerning matters: he had that goodness, without which man is a busy, mischievous, and wretched thing; yet that wisdom whereby he was not so good (as the Italian saith) as to be *good for nothing*: he was gentle, but not easie; mild, but not soft; obliging not the fancies of men, but their interest: none more civil to strangers (his heart being not a narrow island (as my lord Bacon observes) but a large continent:) none more tender of inferiours, none more humble to superiours; none more compassionate to the afflicted; none more loving to, or more beloved by all. The queen said, she trusted her kingdom to his faithfulness in 88. and herself to his conduct. His alliance to the queen brought him to court, but his honesty kept him there (when jealousy had overcast that great house of the Howards:) ancient nobility was a good recommendation to the queen's first favours; but modesty, submission, and integrity were the virtues that continued them: he had only so much ambition as rendered him active and serviceable, and not busy or dangerous: he knew a noble-
man

man cannot be safely aspiring, nor smooth man James I
 securely popular, and a man of his retinue must
 not be busie. He lived in an age when all honour
 was perilous that was not designed for service;
 when the state chose “ministers that were more
 “sensible of duty than of rising; that loved bu-
 “siness rather upon conscience than upon bra-
 “very, and when the prince discerned a busie
 “nature from a willing mind: as the stone had
 “need be rich that is set without foyl,” so this
 noble person, that was only real, had need of
 great parts of virtue. So valiant he was, that he
 made the Spanish fleet veil to him, though it
 carried the empress of Germany; so active that
 he tugged at the cable himself in 88. and did
 much by his own pains, and more by his exam-
 ple: so skillful, that he contrived the fire-ships
 that frightened and scattered the Spanish navy. Two
 eminent services he did the protestant religion
 when but twenty-one years of age; the first is,
 that he was so observant a witness of arch-bishop
 Parker’s consecration, that with his bare word the
 tale of the nags head came to nothing. 2. That
 he was so close an agent in the court of France,
 that no design was brewed in Scotland, none se-
 conded in France, but he with the emperour and
 the king of Spain’s ambassadors assistance (whom
 he had engaged with the hope of a match between
 the king of the Romans and his mistress) disco-
 vered and defeated with that success, that the
 king of France courted his mistress to a peace,
 and himself to favour. None more careful in
 matter of business; none more splendid in busi-
 ness of compliment--condoling king Francis his
 death with a majesty no less becoming the perso-
 nage

James I nage he represented, than the prince he addressed himself to. 1. His providence in contriving the English ships nimble, and such as could tack about at pleasure. 2. His prudence in not hazarding his weak navy against the Spanish army and armado in an engagement wherein a victory would be but little glory, and a defeat a ruin. 3. His activity in alarming the Spanish navy day and night. 4. His wisdom in honouring the most serviceable under him, as Hawkins, Forbisher, Sheffield, &c. 5. His popularity that drew so many volunteers to his service, as the earls of Oxford, Northumberland, Cumberland, the Cecils, &c. 6. His wariness in dividing his fourteen sail into four squadrons round about the Spanish navy. 7. His excellent contrivance of eight ships filled with pitch, wild-fire, rosin, &c. which he sent down the wind in the dead of night so much to the terror of the Spaniards, that fearing the fire, together with some more deadly engines, they raised a pitiful cry, weighed anchor, cut their cables, and in a terrible pannick fear, with great haste and confusion put to sea. 8. His admirable dexterity in disposing of the navy, so as they met the Spanish navy upon their dispersion with such success, that the invincible fleet never saw again its own formidableness, ever since grown the most contemptible thing that ever sailed upon these seas. 9. His seasonable order to the Dutch fleet to watch the duke of Parma in the ports of Dunkirk and Newport. 10. His exact intelligence, whereby he understood what a controversie there was in the Spanish navy about this point, whether they should stick to their commission in staying for Parma, which was their duty, or follow the
emer-

emergent advantages, which had been their discretion,---and dealt with them accordingly. These grand particulars of this noble-man's service were so eminent and signal, that queen Elizabeth, who was over-lavish neither of her honour nor her preferments, would say commonly of him and those brave heroes under him, *That they were born to save their country.*

This noble person was of greater experience than knowledge, and more beholding to his years than to his education, whence king James took great pleasure in his discourse, that was not morose, obstinate, narrow, unactive, or formal, like a students harangues; but free, active, and ingenuous, like a states-man's maxims--Whereof one was this; that never did commander a noble act that was commission-bound; it being a question, whether the Venetians and Spaniards lost more at sea and in the Netherlands before they discovered that error, or gained more since. For whilst we address ourselves to the state, occasions are lost, things take another countenance; and so many unexpected accidents happen, for which sudden provision must be made, that opportunities escape before we dare lay hold of them; and sometimes we perish for want of a commission to save ourselves.

Great content did he give by his presence in the French court 1605, and greater in his carriage at the prince elector's * marriage, 1612. A prudent care did he discover in providing for posterity by the seasonable resignation of his admiralty; a faithful friend he shewed himself in confirming sir Robert Mansel's place when he parted with

* Where he was bridegroom.

James I with his own ; a great argument of his own worth and service, that he was so careful to reward others.

*Observations on the Life of Sir Geo.
Hume, Earl of Dunbar.*

Lloyd.

NO wonder he is so great a favourite of king James in his riper years, who was so faithful a servant of his in *his* youth : trusted with his *Royal secrets* in Scotland, and therefore in his *Royal* bosome in England. The natural reservedness of all *Scots-men*, and the vast depth of *this*, are not more necessary to all princes, then they were pleasing to king James, who had no secrecies that endangered his privadoes, though many that *tried* them, and particularly our statesman, who had no *bidden weakness* to be overreached, nor *private* interest to be corrupted, but was a great master of himself, owning a reach not to be comprehended, and thoughts not to be fathomed, but by him whose heart *was as the sand of the Sea*.

Exact was his correspondence with sir Robert Cecil while in Scotland, and intimate was their friendship in England ; both extorting from each other those observations touching their respective countreys, which they might both communicate to his majesty at their respective opportunities.

His enterprizes were well laid, but unsuccessful ; rational, but *unhappy* : an argument that

De-

Designs are only in our power, and *Events* in a James I higher. There was not a man more noble and renowned, more comely and graceful, of more years and experience [* *Versatus, Versutus*] of a greater estate or revenue; more liberal and munificent, more accostable and courteous, more resolved and reserved (all the qualities of a compleat ambassador) than the earl of Dunbar when sent to Germany; yet none more ineffectual, having gained no more by a tedious and chargeable negotiation, than as the earl of Nottingham with his gallant retinue in Spain, that the papists who were formerly perswaded by their jesuits that we were monsters, do now believe we are men; so useles was soft courtship in rough tumults, and so little heed was given to smooth compliments in arms and uproars.

More happy was he in Scotland, where his prudence as lord treasurer, and his chaplain doctor Abbot's gravity as a preacher, reduced that nation to so much sobriety as to admit a regular religion and government; for which service he had the exchequer and the Wardrobe for himself, and the arch-bishoprick of Canterbury for the doctor; when the king was in a great streight between the known merit of the incomparable bishop Andrews, and the last request of dying sir George Hume; a great instance of king James his abilities in what Machiavel calleth a prince's master-piece, viz. the choice of servants.

Obscr.

* Experienced, and Artful.

Observations on the Life of the Earl of Somerset.

Lloyd.

HIS extraction from Scotland put him in the way, his education in England set him in a capacity of advancement. He was born seasonably when his father served him that *should* be a king of England; and brought up happily, when he might please him that *was* so.—His beauty and comeliness *took* his majesty; his parts and prudence *obliged* him, who loved the cabinet, but *valued* the jewel: he was admitted page of honour to king James when of Scotland, and his favourite when of England: his majesties first observation of him was at a solemn tilting, where his delight in his person meeting with his pity of his mischance (I mean the breaking of his leg there) first took him to his tuition, and then to his council. All king James his favourites was of his own education, and so imbued with his principles, and engaged to his interest. It was his majesties policy to retain *Scots* statesmen to balance the *English*; it was Somerset's prudence to entertain *English* favourites to endear the *Scots*; therefore sir Thomas Overbury was as much of his council as he was of his majesties; too haughty a carriage was the miscarriage of other minions, too good a nature was *his*: his great defect being that goodness and humanity that knoweth no excess, but error, which

was rather a softness than a kindness: his heart James I was as large to others, as his master's was to him, and knew as little how to mistrust, as how to do any thing for which he should be mistrusted: this is the lesson he was short in, *That civilities should be common, but favours choice.* The whale is steered at sea by a far smaller fish, and this states-man at "court by far meaner men than "himself. I my self (*saith an ingenious man*) "have known many so far strangers to what was "convenient, as they would scarce concede or "deny any thing out of the presence of their "secretary: and this proceeded not seldom from "a distrust there was no cause for; manifest in "the earl of Somerset, who though himself "owner of a competent sufficiency, was so enchanted with an opinion of sir Thomas Overbury's parts, that he preferred him from a servant to such an intimate friendship; as he "could think nothing well educated for employment in his office, that had not passed his correction, nor secret laid up but in his bosom; "which swelled him, (*saith he*) to such a monstrosity in pride, that I have heard (not being "my self then near the *English* court) now he "offered to rant at his servants, and did once "beat his coachman for putting his commands "under an inferiour expostulation to his master; "and through this intollerable arrogance in "him, and remisness in the earl, the sparks first "flew, that kindled the ruine of them both: "friendship being no more able to maintain its "interest against a feminine affection, than so "great a pride was to confine it self within the "tedder of moderation. The greatest are not

James I not free, but led in triumph by the affections of others, through the mediation of their own. Sir Thomas Overbury would do what was most plausible, and the earl must perform what was less popular. The king trusted Carr with his dispatches, and Carr trusts Overbury a month together without examination, who had full commission to receive and answer any letters or other expresses that came to his hands: great opportunities offered themselves to sir Robert Carr, and a great soul he had to observe them (Fortune being nothing else but an attentive observation of the revolution of affairs, and the occasions resulting therefrom:) observant he was of his “master, who raised him not to “eclipse others, but like a brave prince to ease “himself. For princes (to use my lord Bacon’s “words) being at too great a distance from their “subjects, to ease themselves into their bosomes, “raise some persons to be as it were *participes curarum*, or their companions: but this favourite understood as well the humour of the people, as he did the disposition of his prince, obliging the one no less, than he pleased the other. Gay he was, as a courtier, grave as a counsellour: to scholars none more civil, to soldiers none more liberal; of states-men none more respectful: he had his extraordinary great virtues upon occasions to shew, and his ordinary little ones always to oblige; a compleatness in all turns, and upon all occasions was his nature. Familiar he was, yet not cheap; sociable upon regard, and not upon facility: his behaviour was his soul, free for any exercise or motion; finding many, and making more opportunities to endear himself, he broke his mind to small observations, yet he compre-

comprehended great matters : his carriage was James I so exact, as if affected ; and yet so graceful, as if natural. That which overthrew the first, bewitched the wisest, and tyred the most patient man, undid this noble person : yet so regular were his affections, that he did nothing publickly in the countess of Essex, the earl of Suffolk's daughters case, but by due course of law, the approbation of the gravest and wisest divines and counsellours, and the * applause of England : his failings were the faults of his years, rather than of his person, of his sodain fortune, than of his constant temper ; his counsels were safe and moderate ; his publick actions honest and plain ; his first years of favour industrious and active ; his mind noble and liberal. His soul capacious and inquisitive ; his temper yielding and modest. In a word, sir Robert Carr deserved to be a favourite, if he had not been one. — He fell because he meddled too little with the secretaries place while in it, and too much when out of it ; giving Overbury too much scope on the one hand to mate him, and sir Ralph Winwood too much offence to undermine him ; who finding that new earls occasions growing with his advancements (I say occasions, because I think his miscarriages were not his nature, but his necessity) apt to encroach upon his and other court-offices, gave ear to that intelligence from *Flushing* that might ruine him, and set free himself.

The first intimation of his guilt was his earnestness for a general pardon ; and the first argument of it was my lord Chancellor's scruples in sealing it : whence I date his first declining,
attended

* Witness his entertainment at London.

James attended with as much pity as his first advancement was with *envy*. We and the Troglodites curse not the sun-rising more heartily, than we worship it when it *sets*. The gentleman was as to his stature rather well compacted than tall; as to his features and favour, comely, rather than beautiful.—The hair of his head was flaxen, and that of his face yellow: his nature was gentle, his disposition affable, his affections publick, until a particular person and interest engrossed them: and the good gentleman being sensible of failures that might ruine him, was wholly intent upon a *treasure* that might preserve him:—His defect was, that he understood only his own age; and that the experience of man's life cannot furnish *examples and presidents for the events of one man's life*.

Observations on the Life of Archbishop Abbot.

Born 1562, Died 1633.

Lloyd.

GEORGE ABBOT being one of that happy ternion of brothers, whereof two were eminent prelates, the third lord mayor of London, was bred in Oxford, wherein he became Mr. of University-colledge; a pious man, and most excellent preacher, as his lectures on *Jonah* do declare. He did first creep, “ then “ run, then flye into preferment, or rather pre-
“ ferment

“ ferment did flye upon him without his ex-James I
 “ pectation. He was never incumbent on any
 “ living with cure of souls, but was mount-
 “ ed from a lecturer to a dignitary; so that he
 “ knew the stipend and benevolence of the one,
 “ and the dividend of the other, but was utterly
 “ unacquainted with the taking of tithes, with
 “ the many troubles attending it, together with
 “ the causeless molestations which parsons pre-
 “ sented meet with in their respective parishes.
 “ And because it is hard for one to have a
 “ fellow-suffering of that, whereof he never
 “ had a suffering; this (say some) was the
 “ cause that he was so harsh to ministers when
 “ brought before him.

Being chaplain to the earl of Dunbar, then
 omni-prevalent with king James, he was unex-
 pectedly preferred arch-bishop of Canterbury,
 being of a more fatherly presence than those,
 who might almost have been his fathers for age
 in the church of England. There are two things
 much charged upon his memory;

First, that in his house he respected his secre-
 tary above his chaplains; and out of it, alwayes
 honoured cloaks above cassocks, lay above
 clergymen.

Secondly, that he connived at the spreading of
 non-conformity, insomuch that a modern author
 said,

*Had Bishop Laud succeeded Bancroft, and the
 project of Conformity been followed without
 interruption, there is little question to be made,
 but that our Jerusalem (by this time) might
 have been a City at unity within it self.*

James I

“ This arch-bishop was much humbled with
 “ a casual homicide of a keeper of the lord
 “ Zouch's in Bremal-Park, though soon after
 “ he was solemnly quitted from any irregularity
 “ thereby. In the reign of king Charles he
 “ was sequester'd from his jurisdictions, say
 “ some, on the old account of that homicide,
 “ though others say, for refusing to license a
 “ sermon of Dr. Siphthorp's. Yet there is not
 “ an express of either in the instrument of se-
 “ questration, the commission only saying in the
 “ general, that the arch-bishop could not at
 “ that present in his own person attend those ser-
 “ vices which were otherwise proper for his
 “ cognizance and jurisdiction.

To say the truth, he was a man of good in-
 tentions, and knew much, but failed in what
 those ordinarily do that are devoted to our mo-
 dern singularities, being extremely obstinate in
 his opinions, which the king was more willing
 to understand than follow, because most times
 he looked upon things according to the rigour
 of ecclesiastick maximes, and was either too cu-
 rious and irresolute by variety of reading, or too
 peremptory and positive from the strictness of
 his rules ; or too zealous by reason of the serious-
 ness of his study ; or wide from the matter, by
 reason of his *inexperience*, and aptness to require
 in the times he lived, the regularity of the times
 “ he read of, heeding not the force of circum-
 “ stances, the errors of comparison, or the
 “ cautions of application.” I like his apology
 for his severity to the clergy (that he was *austere*
to prevent others being cruel) as well as his zeal
 for the protestant religion ; onely his principles
 betrayed

betrayed his profession, which he rendered too James I obnoxious, while he supported it by those novel grounds which our adversaries could make us confess were heterodox, and by those straight-laced foundations which we saw our selves too narrow. As for instance, king James his vast capacity took him up once for making the scripture the onely rule of civil affairs; owning the piety, but observing to his face the imprudence of that assertion. Imprudence, I say, as for many reasons, so for this, because to assert a truth upon a weak principle, is to tempt the world to doubt of the strength of the first, when they see the weakness of the other. Whether he went off in discontent, and said, *He would not attend at the Councel-Table, because he should not wait at the Altar*: whether he had such malignant followers as called themselves *Nicodemites*, or *night-disciples*: whether he turned noon-day into mid-night, and mid-night into noon-day, having a candle always burning in his chamber; or if so, for what reason, I would not have any one of my years determine, but rather refer the present age to his contemporaries pen, which describes him thus;

A very learned man he was; his erudition all of the old stamp, fitly principled in the doctrine of S. *Augustine*, pious, grave, and exemplary in his conversation: but some think him a better man than arch-bishop, and that he was better qualified with merit for the dignity, than with a spirit answering the function; in the exercise whereof he was conceived too facile and yielding: his extraordinary remissness in not exacting strict conformity to the prescribed orders of the church

James I church in point of ceremony, seemed to resolve those legal determinations to their first principal of indifference, and led in such an habit of in-conformity, the future reduction of those tender-conscienced men to long discontinued obedience, was interpreted an innovation; as if he thought it might fall out in politicks as it doth sometimes in physick, *bina venena juvant*, that the two contrary poysons of superstition and innovation might prove a cordial to the church.

Observations on the Life of Sir George Calvert.

Lloyd.

SIR George Calvert was bred first in Trinity-colledge in Oxford, and then beyond the seas. His abilities commended him first to be secretary to Robert Cecil earl of Salisbury, lord treasurer of England. Afterwards he was made clerk of the council, and at last principal secretary of state to king James, succeeding sir Tho. Lake in that office, *Anno 1619*.

H Holland,
p. 39.

Conceiving the duke of Buckingham highly instrumental in his preferment, he presented him with a jewel of great value; which the duke returned him again, not owning any activity in his advancement, whom king James, * *ex mero motu*, reflecting on his abilities, designed for the place. This place he discharged five years, until he willingly resigned the same, 1624, on this occasion;

* From his own inclination.

sion; he freely confessed himself to the king, James I that he was then become a *Roman Catholick*, so that he must either be wanting to his trust, or violate his conscience in discharging his office. This his ingenuity so highly affected king James, that he continued him privy-councillor all his reign, and soon after created him lord Baltimore of Baltimore in Ireland.

During his being secretary, he had a patent to him and his heirs to be * *Absolutus Dominus & Proprietarius*, with the royalties of a count palatine of the province of Avalon in the New-found land, a place so named by him in imitation of old Avalon in Somersetsshire, wherein Glassenbury stands, the first-fruits of christianity in Britain, as the other was in that part of America. Here he built a fair house in Ferry-land, and spent twenty five thousand pounds in advancing the plantation thereof.

Indeed his publick spirit consulted not his private profit, but the enlargement of christianity, and the king's dominions, in that his ancient, primitive, and heroick work of planting the world. After the death of king James he went twice in person to New-found land. Here when monsieur de l'Arade with three men of war sent from the king of France, had reduced our English fishermen to great extremity; this lord with two ships manned at his own charge, chased away the French-men, relieved the English, and took sixty of the French prisoners. He removed afterwards to Virginia to view those parts, and thence came into England, and obtained of king Charles the first (who had as great an esteem of, and

James I and affection for him, as king James) a patent to him and his heirs for Mary-land on the north of Virginia, with the same title and royalties conferred on him, as in Avalon aforesaid, now a hopeful plantation, peopled with eight thousand English souls; which in process of time may prove more advantageous to our nation.

Judg Popham and sir George Calvert agreed not more unanimously in the publick design of planting, than they differed in the private way of it: the first was for extirpating heathens, the second for converting them.—He sent away the lewdest, *this* the soberest people: the one was for present profit, the other for a reasonable expectation (it being in the case of planting countreys, as in that of planting woods; you must account to lose almost twenty years profit, and expect your recompence in the end; it being necessary the province should first find her self, and then enrich you.) The judge was for many governors, the secretary for few, and those not concerned merchants, but unconcerned gentlemen: the one granted liberties without any restraint, the other with great caution: the first set up a common stock, out of which the island should be provided for by proportions; the second left every one to provide for himself.

Two things are eminent in this man:

1. That though he was a catholick, yet kept he himself sincere and disengaged from all interests; and though a man of great judgment, yet not obstinate in his sentiments, but taking as great pleasure in hearing others opinions, as in delivering his own, which he heard moderated and censured with more patience, than applauded.

2. That

2. That he carried a digested and exact account of affairs to his master every night, and took to himself the pains to examine the letters which related to any interest that might be any ways considerable. He was the only states-man, that being engaged to a decryed party, yet managed his business with that huge respect for all sides, that all who knew him, applauded him; and none that had any thing to do with him, complained of him.

Observations on the Life of Sir Arthur Chichester.

“ **S**IR Arthur Chichester spent his youth, Lloyd.
 “ first in the university, then in the French
 “ and Irish wars, where by his valour he was ef-
 “ fectually assistant, first, to plough and break
 “ up that barbarous nation by conquest, and
 “ then to sow it with seeds of civility, when by
 “ king James made lord deputy of Ireland.

Indeed good laws and provisions had been made by his predecessors to that purpose: but alas, they were like good lessons set for a lute out of tune, useless, until the instrument was fitted for them. Wherefore in order to the civilizing of Irishry, in the first year of his government, he established two new circuits for justices of assize, the one in Connaught, the other in Munster. And whereas the circuits in former times only encompassed the English pale (as the

Cynosura

James I (*Cynosura* doth the Pole) henceforwards like good planets in their several spheres, they carried the influence of justice round about the kingdom. Yea, in short time Ireland was so cleared of thieves and capital offenders, that so many malefactors have not been found in the 32 shires of Ireland, as in six English shires in the western circuits. He reduced the mountains and glinnes on the south of Dublin (formerly thornes in the side of the English pale) into the county of Wicklow; and in conformity to the English custom, many Irish began to cut their mantles into cloaks. So observant was his eye over the actions of suspected persons, that Tyrone was heard to complain, *That he could not drink a full carouse of Sack, but the State within few hours was advertised thereof.*

After he had been continued many years in his deputyship, and deservedly made a lord, king James recalled him home, and (loath to leave his abilities unemployed) sent him embassador to the emperour and other German princes. Being besieged in the city of Mainchine (a place much indebted to his prudence for seasonable victualling it) by count Tilley, he sent him word, that it was against the law of nations to besiege an embassador: Tilley returned that he took no notice that he was an embassador. The lord Chichester replied to the messenger, *Had my Master sent me with as many hundred men, as he hath sent me on fruitless Messages, your General should have known, that I had been a Soldier, as well as an Embassador.*

King James at his return entertained him with great commendations, for so well discharging his trust;

trust; and he died in as great honour as any James I English-man of our age. Thus far the histo-
rians. Whence I observe him stout in his nature above any disorder upon emergencies, resolved in his temper above any impressions from other princes, and high in his proposal beyond the expectation of his own. *Alvergonzoto el Diablo le traxo al Palacio*, the devil brought the bashful to court, where none succeeds but he who can ask enough to be granted, and enough to be * abated. There is a memorable observation of Philip the second, king of "Spain, " called *El prudente*; that when he had designed " one for embassador, the man came faintly and " coldly to him to propose some things for the " accommodation of his embassie; and he said, *How can I expect that this man can promote and effectuate my business, when he is so faint and fearful in the solicitation of his own?*

Yet was not my lord Chichester more resolute in Germany, than wary in Ireland, where his opinion was, that time must open and facilitate things for reformation of religion, by the protestant plantations; by the care of good bishops and divines, the amplification of the colledge, the education of wards, an insensible seizure of popish liberties, &c. and that the council there was so numerous (fifty or sixty at least) that the authority of it was debated, and its business divulged. In a word, this brave gentleman had an equal mind, that kept up it self between the discourses of reason, and the examples of histories, in the enjoyment of a good fortune, and a conflict with a bad. *Obser-*

* Domanda assai, chenon Manchera poi calare. Proverb. Hisp. apud Infig. D. Howell de legatis.

*Observations on the Life of the Lord
Chancellor Egerton.*

Lloyd.

THE lord chancellour Egerton, extracted from the ancient family of the Egerton's of Kidley in Cheshire, was bred in the study of the municipal laws of our land, wherein he attained to such eminency, that queen Elizabeth made him her solicitor, then master of the rolls, and at last keeper of the great seal, *May* 6, in the 38 year of her reign, 1596.

Olaus Magnus reporteth, that the emperor of Moscovia at the audience of ambassador's, sendeth for the gravest and seemliest men in Mosco and the vicinage, whom he apparelleth in rich vests; and placing them in his presence, pretended to forraigners, that these are of his privy-council; who cannot but be much affected with so many reverent aspects. But surely all Christendome afforded not a person which carried more gravity in his countenance and behaviour than sir Thomas Egerton, insomuch that many have gone to the chancery on purpose only to see his venerable garb (happy they who had no other business) and were highly pleased at so acceptable a spectacle. Yet was his outward case nothing in comparison of his inward abilities, quick wit, solid judgement, ready utterance. I confess master Cambden saith, he entred his office *Magna expectatione & integritatis opinione*,
with

with a great expectation and opinion of integrity: but no doubt, had he revised his work in a second edition, he would have afforded him a full-faced commendation, when this lord had turned his expectation to performance. In the first of king James, of lord keeper he was made lord chancellor, which is also another name for the same office: and on *Thursday* the seventh of *November*, 1616, of lord Elifmer he was created viscount Brackley. It is given to courts whose jurisdictions do border, to fall out about their bounds; and the contest betwixt them is the hotter, the higher the spirits and parts of the respective judges. Great was the contention for many years together betwixt this lord of equity, and sir Edward Cooke the oracle of justice at Westminster-Hall: I know not which of them got the better; sure I am such another contest would (if this did not) have undone the conqueror.

He was attended on with servants of most able parts, and was the sole chancellor since the reformation, who had a chaplain, which (though not immediately) succeeded him in his place. He gave over his office which he held full twenty years, some few days before his death; and by his own appointment his body was brought down and buried at Duddleston in Cheshire, leaving a fair estate to his son, who was afterwards created earl of Bridgewater, as he did to his excellent son now living.

When he saw king James his munificence to some courtiers, with the grave fidelity of a statesman, he stuck not often to tell him, that as he held it necessary for his majesty amply to remunerate

James I nerate all those his countrymen, so he desired him carefully to preserve his crown lands, for his own support, seeing he or his successors might meet with parliaments which would not supply his occasions, but on such condition as would not be very acceptable unto him. It was an ordinary speech in his mouth to say, *frost and fraud both end in foul.*

His plain, but honest advice to my lord of Essex was,

1. Not to trust himself, because they that stand by, see more than they that play the game.

2. To yield to *Time* and *fortune*, and not do that for his enemies, which they could never do for themselves.

3. To have a careful eye upon those actions on which he knew there were many envious ones. And for himself, his supplication to king James was, that since his conceit and sense was grown so heavy, his memory decayed, his judgment weak, his hearing imperfect, and his voice faltering, he might * *desinere potiùs quam deficere*, and retire from his business to his meditation, as he did; while living, imparting many mysteries of the chancery; and when dying, bequeathing as many choice books and directions to his then chaplain, and his after-successor doctor Williams. Secretary Winwood having received the seal, and left this gracious message with this good man, that his majesty would be his under-keeper, and not dispose of it while he lived to bear the name of chancellor: nor did any receive the seal out of the king's sight, while he lived to bear the name of chancellor. A

* Rather desist from, than fail in the discharge of his duty.

A company of citizens got a cause passed by James I keeping a witness away in this manner; one of them gets him to a tavern, and there leaves him with a quart of sack before him, and the glass at his mouth, and swears in open court, he left him in a condition, wherein if he continueth but *two hours he is a dead man.* The other party find out the cheat, and have their remedy in chancery: Sir Edward Cook brings the matter to the Star-chamber, and threateneth the chancellor with a *Premunire.* The business is debated, and sentence passed for my lord chancellor; with the comfort whereof, and the king's and prince's letter to him upon his death-bed, he went *to his grave.*

Observations on the Life of the Lord Chief-Justice Popham.

SIr John Popham in his youthful days was a Lloyd. Stout and skilful man at sword and buckler as any in that age, and wild enough in his recreations. But oh! said my author, if quicksilver could be really fixed, to what a treasure would it amount? Such is wild youth seriously reduced to gravity, as by this young man did appear, who applied himself to a more profitable fencing, the study of the laws; therein attaining to such eminency, that he became the queen's attorney, afterwards lord chief-justice of England. Being sent anno 1600 by the queen with some others to
the

James I the earl of Essex, to know the cause of the confluence of so many military men unto his house, the soldiers therein detained him for a time, which some made tantamount to an imprisonment. This his violent detention Sir John deposed upon his oath at the earl's tryal: which I note the rather, for the rarity thereof, that a lord chief-justice should be produced as witness in open court.

In the beginning of the reign of king James, his justice was exemplary on thieves and robbers. The land then swarmed with people which had been soldiers, who had never gotten (or else quite forgotten) any other vocation. Hard it was for peace to feed all the idle mouths which a former war did breed, being too proud to beg, too lazy to labour: those infested the high-ways with their felonies; some presuming on their multitudes, as the robber on the northern rode, whose knot (otherwise not to be untied) sir John cut asunder with the sword of justice. He possessed king James, how the frequent granting of pardons was prejudicial to justice, rendering the Judges to the contempt of insolent malefactors; which made his majesty more sparing afterwards in that kind. In a word, the deserved death of some scores, preserved the lives and livelihoods of some thousands: travellers owing their safety to this judges severity, many years after his death. Neither did he onely punish malefactors but provide for them; for observing that so many suffered and *died* for none other reason but because they could not *live* in England, now grown too populous for it's self, and *breeding* more inhabitants than it could *keep*, he first set up the discovery

very

very of New-England, to maintain and employ James I those that could not live honestly in the old; being of opinion, that banishment thither would be as well a more lawful, as a more effectual remedy against those extravagancies; the authors whereof judge it more eligible to *hang* than to work; to end their days in a moment, than to continue them in pains;---onely a great judgment observes, it is a shameful and an unblest thing, to take the scum of people and wicked condemned men to be the people with whom to plant: and not onely so, but it spoyleth the plantation, for they will live like rogues, and not fall to work, and do mischief, and spend victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certifie over to the country, to the disgrace of the common-wealth.

Observation on the Life of Sir Robert Dudley.

Sir Robert Dudley, son to Robert Dudley earl Lloyd of Leicester, by Douglas Sheffield (whether his mistress or his wife, God knows) was born at Shene in Surrey, and bred by his mother (out of his father's reach) at Offington in Suffex, where he became a most compleat gentleman in all fuitable accomplishments, endeavouring in the reign of king James to prove his legitimacy; and meeting with much opposition from the court, in distaste, he left his land, and went over into Italy. But worth is ever at home, and carrieth its own

James I own welcome along with it. Therefore he became a favourite to the duke of Florence, who highly reflected on his abilities, and used his directions in all his buildings. At this time Leghorn from a child, started to a man, without ever being a youth, and of a small town grew a great city on a sudden, and is much beholden to this sir Robert for its fairness and firmness, as chief contriver of both. But by this time his adversaries in England had procured him to be called home by a special privy-seal; which he refused to obey, and thereupon all his lands in England were seized upon by the king, by the statute of fugitives. These losses doubled the love of the duke of Florence unto him. And indeed sir Robert was a much meriting person on many accounts, being an

Excellent	{ 1 Mathematician, especially for the practical part thereof in architecture.
	{ 2. Physician, his Catholicon at this day finding good esteem amongst those of that faculty.
	{ 3. Navigator, especially in the Western seas.

Indeed long before his leaving of England, whilst as yet he was *Rectus in curia*, well esteemed in queen Elizabeth's court, he sailed with three small ships to the isle of Trinidad, in which voyage he sunk and took nine Spanish ships; whereof one an armada of 600 tun.

He was so acceptable to Ferdinand the second, emperor of Germany, that by his letters patents bearing date at Vienna, March 9. 1620. he conferred on him and his heirs the title of a duke of the

the sacred empire. Understand it a title at large (as James I. that of count Arundel's) without the assignation of any proper place unto him.

King James had heard so much of the father that he did not care for the son, who might have been near his person, had not his ancestors been so near his predecessors--no other considerations being likely to keep so extraordinary parts at this distance from a king that valued them so highly, or a kingdom that needed them so much.—That prince being as jealous an observer of *Original sin* in policy, as he was an orthodox asserter of it in *Religion*, would trust *no tainted blood*. He writ an excellent discourse of religion as the blind senator in Juvenal made a large encomium of the goodly turbet which lay before Cæsar, but as ill luck would have it, turned himself quite the contrary way: * *at illi dextra jacebat bellua*, a man right of Chrysippus his temper, who sometimes wanted opinions, but never arguments, which he managed all ways with contempt of, and opposition to the school-way, which going the distinctest way to state, went the nearest way to end controversies, but was slighted by him as unintelligible, because it had been passed by him as unstudied, as the old woman in Seneca, complained that the room was dark, when only her eyes were so, and his new *εὐρηκᾶς* wherein he made his private and crazy judgment the standard and seal of common truth, took a little with men's first thoughts, but lost themselves with their wiser, and second, like the log in the fable which terrified the poor frogs with the noise it made at the first falling of it into the waters, but afterwards they insulted over it, and took their turns to leap upon it. When

James I I consider Metiochus his carriage in Plutarch, and
 ~~~~~ Sir Robert's character in Florence, \* (*hæc a senon  
 multum abludit imago* :) Metiochus is captain, Me-  
 tiochus is surveyor, Metiochus bakes the bread,  
 Metiochus grinds the corn, Metiochus doth all;  
 right one of Æsop's fellows, that could say and  
 do *all things*; so that others need say and do  
*nothing*, a very happy man if while living he  
 had deserved the character idle *Vaccia* had when  
 dead. *Hic situs est Vaccia*, here lieth *Vaccia*.

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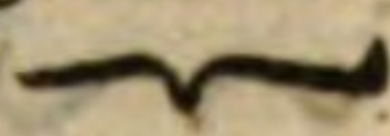
*Observations on the Life of Arch-  
 bishop Bancroft.*

Lloyd.

**D**OCTOR Richard Bancroft, (whom his  
 adversaries character a better states-man  
 than divine, a better divine than preacher, though  
 upon good occasion he shewed he was all these)  
 was bred in Jesus College in Cambridge, where  
 his parts in discovering the bottom of Presby-  
 tery, and his sufficiency when his patron Hat-  
 ton's examiner commended him to queen Eliza-  
 beth to be bishop of London, and to king James  
 to be arch-bishop of Canterbury. Indeed he  
 was in effect arch-bishop while bishop, to whom  
 doctor Whitgift in his decrepit age remitted the  
 managing of matters, so that he was the soul of  
 the high-commission. A great states-man he  
 was, and grand champion of church-discipline;  
 having well hardned the hands of his soul, which  
 was

\* Their characters are strikingly alike.



was no more than needed for him, who was to James I meddle with nettles and bryars, and met with  much opposition.

No wonder if those who were silenced by him in the church, were loud against him in other places. David speaketh of poyson under men's Psa. 104. 3 lips; this bishop tasted plentifully thereof from the mouths of his enemies, till at last (as Mithridates) he was so habited to poisons, that they became food unto him. Once a gentleman coming to visit him, presented him a libel, which he found pasted on his door; who being nothing moved thereat, said, *Cast it to an hundred more which lye here on a heap in my chamber.* Many a libel, (lye) (because false) (bell) (because loud) was made upon him. The aspersions of covetousness, though cast, doth not stick on his memory, being confuted by the estate which he left, small in proportion to his great preferment, being but 6000 l. after being above twelve years in London and Canterbury.

He cancelled his first will, wherein he had bequeathed much to the church: suspecting an impression of popular violence on cathedrals, and fearing an alienation of what was bequeathed unto them, he thought fit to cancel his own, to prevent others cancelling his testament. This partly appears by his second will, wherein he gave the library at Lambeth (the result of his own, and three predecessors collections) to the university of Cambridge (which now they possess) in case the Archi-Episcopal See should be extinct.

How came such a jealousy into his mind? what fear of a storm when the sun shined, the



James I sky clear, no appearance of clouds? Surely his skill was more than ordinary in the complexion of the commonwealth, who did foresee what afterward (for a time) came to pass. This clause providentially inserted, secured this library in Cambridge during the vacancy of the archiepiscopal see, and so prevented the embezelling, at the least the dismembring thereof, in our late civil distempers.

They that accuse this excellent prelate with cruelty, never read this story: a minister privately protested to him, that *it went against his conscience to conform*. Which way said the good arch-bishop (observing the man's ingenuity) will you live, if you be put out of your benefice? The other answered, *he had no other way but to go a begging*. Not so (said the arch-bishop) *that you shall not need to do, but come to me, and I will take order for your maintenance*.

They that exclaimed against his unserviceableness, never observed *this passage*. A company of young courtiers appeared extraordinary gallant at a tilting, far above their fortunes and estates, giving for their motto, \* *Solvat Ecclesia*. Bishop Bancroft, then of London, hearing of it, finds on enquiry that the queen was passing a considerable parcel of church-lands to them, and stops the business with his own and his friends interest, leaving these gallants to pay the shot of their pride and prodigality out of their own purses.—And *this*; that a prevalent courtier had swallowed up the whole bishoprick of Durham, had not this arch-bishop seasonably interposed his power with king James (ready enough

\* Let the Church pay it.



enough to admit such intercessions) and dashed James in the design. They that traduce him for a papist, forget that he fomented the difference between the seculars, and regulars, to the weakening, and promoted the foundation of Chelsey-Colledge, to the ruining of that cause.

But they that perform great actions, reserving as it is fit the reason of them in their own bosoms, may sufficiently satisfy their consciences towards God, though they can hardly avoid the censures of men.

I shall add no more concerning this excellent prelate, but that it was observed as the historian writes, that at Hampton-Court-Conference archbishop Whitgift spake most gravely, bishop Bilson most learnedly, but bishop Bancroft [when out of passion] most politickly.

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### *Observations on the Life of the Lord Grandison.*

**S**IR Oliver Saint-John, Lord Grandison, Lloyd. &c. descended of an ancient and honourable family, whose prime seat was at Lediard-Tregoze in Wiltshire, though their first settlement was in South-Wales. He was bred in the wars from his youth, and at last by king James was appointed lord deputy of Ireland, and vigorously pursued the principles of his predecessors for the civilizing thereof. Indeed the lord Mountjoy reduced that countrey to obedience,



James I the lord Chichester to some civility, and this lord Grandison first advanced it to considerable profit to his master. T. Walsingham \* writeth, that Ireland afforded unto Edward the third thirty thousand pounds a year paid into his exchequer: but it appears by the † Irish records (which are rather to be believed) that it was rather a burthen, and the constant revenue thereof beneath the third part of that proportion.

But now, the kingdom being peaceably settled, the income thereof turned to good account, so that Ireland (called the land of Ire for the constant broils therein for four hundred years) was now become the land of concord.

This noble person recalled into England, lived many years in great repute, leaving his honours to his sister's son by sir Edward Villiers, but the main of his estate to his brother's son, sir John St. John, knight and baronet. So sweet and charming his conversation, that he was *beloved* by all his superiours, and *envied* by no inferior; being never advanced to any great dignity, but he was wished to a greater: so exact his vigilancy, so constant his industry, so plausible his actions, attended with no less civility to all men, than duty to his soveraign: so frank and ingenious his integrity, that none feared him; so discreet his management of business, and so strong his judgement, that any might confide in him. One he was that crossed the Italian proverb,

*Di Dunaridi senno, e di fede,  
In e Mancho che non Crede:*

having

\* In the life of Richard the second. † Sir John Davies in Disc. of Ireland, p. 39, &c.



having more money, more faith, yea and more James I  
 wisdom too than was generally esteemed. I {  
 mean wisdom of behaviour, wisdom of business,  
 and wisdom of state; in the last whereof he aimed  
 at a general settlement, which he observed would  
 bear particular errors, provided that care, la-  
 bour, vigilancy, and prudent inquietude *attend-*  
*ed*, that forceth difficulties, constrains fortune,  
*assures good counsels*, corrects *bad*, supports and  
 overthroweth designs, disposeth of accidents,  
 observeth time, manageth hazards, forgets no-  
 thing; seldom trusts others, and improveth all  
 occurrents: and that first maxim of policy he  
 observed, *that who layeth out most, layeth out*  
*least*, that petty frugalities undo the main in-  
 terest.

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## *Observations on the Life of Sir Thomas Overbury.*

**S**IR Thomas Overbury, son to sir Nicholas Lloyd.  
 Overbury, one of the judges of the march-  
 es, was born at Burton on the Hill in Glouce-  
 stershire, bred in Oxford, and attained to be a  
 most accomplished Gentleman, partly in Graye's-  
 Inn, and partly in France; which the happiness  
 of his pen both in poetry and prose doth declare.  
 In the later he is observed to be the first writer of  
 characters of our nation. But if the great parts  
 of this Gentleman were guilty of insolence and  
 petulancy, “ which some since have charged  
 “ on



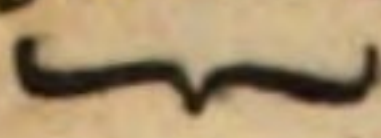
James I “ on his memory; reporting of him, that he  
 “ should say, Somerset owed his advancement  
 “ to him, and that he should walk with his hat  
 “ on before the queen; we may charitably pre-  
 “ sume, that his reduced age would have cor-  
 “ rected such juvenile extravagancies. It is  
 “ questionable, whether Robert Carr earl of  
 “ Somerset were more in the favour of king  
 “ James, or this sir Thomas Overbury in the  
 “ favour of the earl of Somerset, until he lost  
 “ it by dissuading that lord from keeping com-  
 “ pany with a lady (the wife of another person  
 “ of honour) as neither for his credit here, or  
 “ comfort hereafter. Soon after sir Thomas  
 “ was by king James designed embassador for  
 “ Russia. His false friends perswaded him to  
 “ decline the employment, as no better than an  
 “ honourable grave. Better lye some days in  
 “ the tower, than more months in a worse pri-  
 “ son; a ship by sea, and a barbarous cold coun-  
 “ trey by land. Besides, they possessed him,  
 “ that within a small time, the king should be  
 “ wrought to a good opinion of him. But he  
 “ that willingly goes into a prison, out of hope  
 “ to come easily out of it, may stay therein so  
 “ long, till he be too late convinced of another  
 “ judgement. Whilest sir Thomas was in the  
 “ tower, his refusal was presented to the king  
 “ as an act of high contempt, as if he valued  
 “ himself more than the king's service. His  
 “ strict restraint gave the greater liberty to his  
 “ enemies to practice his death, 1615. which  
 “ was by poyson performed: yet was his blood  
 “ legally revenged, which cost some a violent,  
 “ and others a civil death, as deprived of their  
 “ offices,



“ offices. The earl was soon abated in king James’s  
 “ James his affection (oh! the short distance  
 “ betwixt the cooling and quenching of a fa-  
 “ vourite) being condemned and banished the  
 “ court.

Exact are the remarks he drew up of foreign  
 countrey’s, and therefore no less such his trans-  
 actions for his own. In this most esteemed with  
 king James and his master, that he suited both  
 their genius’s in the easie and clear method,  
 wherein he expressed the most difficult and  
 knotty affairs; for they both being perplexed  
 with that variety of affairs in general, that they  
 could not readily look into difficult cases in par-  
 ticular, loved those that made things out easie  
 and clear to them, as well fitted for their ap-  
 prehensions, as obvious to their judgment—own-  
 ing a soul so quiet, that abate its youthful ex-  
 travagancies, it knew not a motion but what  
 was duty and interest; felt no agitation but  
 what was reason, and what philosophy conveyed  
 into the souls of the wisest, and observation in-  
 sinuated into the spirit of the closest: if he ex-  
 pected a recompense suitable to his services, or  
 an acknowledgement answerable to his merit, he  
 understood not the humour and nature of man-  
 kind, the interest of favourites, or his own parts,  
 too guilty of reputation to be advanced, and of  
 power not to be suppressed.—It’s Machiavel’s  
 rule; *that they who rise very high, should descend  
 timely, and quit the envy, lest they lose the honour  
 of their greatness.* Although this gentleman’s  
 skill in accommodating factions, in the art of  
 negociation, in the charm of language, in the  
 interest of princes, in mastering his own resent-  
 ments



James I merits as well as his enemies that provoked him,  had preserved him, if he had known as well how to hold his tongue, as how to speak; if he had understood others humours as well as they did his; and if he had skilled as well from whom to have refused kindness, as from whom he deserved it.—In a word, he that considered so many other maxims, was defective in compliance with his own, viz. *That vertue is there unprofitable, where too great*; and that many had lost the favour of their masters by over-much meriting it.

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## *Observations on the Life of Sir Clement Edmonds.*

Lloyd.

**S**IR Clement Edmonds, that learned and judicious remembrancer of the city of London, was born at \* Shratvardine in Shropshire, and bred fellow of All-Souls colledge in Oxford, being generally skilled in all arts and sciences; witness his faithful translations of, and learned illustrations on Cæsar's commentaries. Say not that comment on commentary was false heraldry, seeing it is so worthy a work, that the author thereof may pass for an eminent instance to what perfection of theory they may attain to in matter of war, who were not acquainted with the practick part thereof; being once employed by queen Elizabeth, with a dispatch to sir Francis

\* Vere's Commentaries.



Francis Vere, which occasioned his presence at James I the battle at Newport: for he doth so smartly discuss, *pro* and *con*, and seriously decide many martial controversies, that his judgement therein is praised by the best military masters.

King James taking notice of his abilities, made him clerk of the council, and knighted him; and he was at last preferred secretary of state, in the vacancy of that place; but prevented by death, he acted not therein. At this day his goodness in his general carriage out-did his prudence, and his prudence in particular, his goodness; but his industry *both* in all things, and in nothing more than in his Scotch negotiation, where he over-reached the flye French, composed and fetled the unsatisfied king, and sent those weekly advertisements to his mistris, that sir Robert Cecil confessed the master-wheel of those years revolutions.

When Charles the fifth presented secretary Erafo to his son Philip the second, he said, *He gave him somewhat greater than his estate, and more royal than his empire.* When sir William Waad introduced sir Clement Edmonds to court, *he brought thither in that person more than he could carry away in his own:* a person much accomplished in the great precepts and rules he observed; more in his experience and application of those he practised; wherein he was wise, but not presumptuous; exact, but not pedantick; allowing much to old observations, more to new circumstances: he was not more beholding to his nature, than his nature to his study and meditation; and that to time and experience, which offered at once occasions of instruction, and mat-  
ter



James I ter of exercifes, to his great understanding, fo well acquainted with the affairs of former ages, that he could not be surprized with thofe of his own, knowing how to command, before he was called to obey, as who trusted not to his own, fhort and perplexed life, that fcarce holds out five or fix important negotiations, and ordinarily ceafeth to be, before it beginneth to know : but his policy may be gueffed from his morality ; and his publick carriage in the tumults of affairs, from his private conduct and command in the diforders of nature, thefe being as well managed by his reason, as the former by his prudence : his leffer fkill in governing the little world being an earneft of that more large in ruling the greater. —The government of others, faith philosophy, is not fit for him who is a flave to himfelf.

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*Observations on the Life of James Hay, Earl of Carlifle.*

Lloyd.

ONE Hay his ancestor faved Scotland from an army of Danes at Longcarty with a yoke in his hand.\* James Hay fix hundred years after faved the king of that countrey from the Gowries at their houfe with a *culter* in his : the firft had as much ground affigned him by king Kenith as a falcon could fly over at one flight, and the other as much land as he could ride round in two days. The whole family fell before

\* Therefore the Yoke is their fupporter.



before Dublin-castle in former dayes, save a James I child left in his mothers womb; and had *decay-*  *ed* in ours, but that the heir of it was cut out from his. He served his master in Scotland by his generosity; and in England with his hospitality; the decay whereof king James observed the defect of the English nobility; and the restoration of it, he designed the honour of the Scots gentry. Royal was his masters munificence towards him, noble his towards others; his majesty being not more intent upon his advancement for publick service, than he was upon the advancement of others to his private assistance: his majesties gracious inclination being for a reign of peace, this servant's estate was spent upon the arts of it, I mean upon feasts, masques, gay cloathes, and such other delicacies as might soften our harsher natures to quietness, that princes interest, who was first to understand, and then to manage the *strength* of this nation.

Although he failed in most of his negotiations, because he carried his money on his back, rather than in his purse; rather to spend, than bestow; and amaze *foreigners*, rather than to oblige them: yet was his embassie more suitable to the French vanity, than either the Dutch thrift, or the German plainness; and his carriage more answerable to a gawdy treaty of marriage, than to a close agency for interest, or the intricate consultations of war. So great the report of his hospitality, than an host of Delph demanded sixty pounds for providing him a supper, though he never came that way; yet so displeasing to the prince of Orange, that when his steward asked what he should provide extraordinarily



James ordinarily for the great embassador's entertain-  
 ment; the prince looks on his bill of fare, and  
 whereas there was but one pig, he bid them  
 write two; tartly reflecting as well on my lords  
 nation, as his magnificence.—— One of his en-  
 tertainments I understand not the reason of, I  
 mean his ante-suppers; the manner of which  
 was, to have the board covered at the first en-  
 trance of guests, with dishes as high as a tall  
 man could well reach, filled with the choicest  
 and dearest viands sea or land could afford: and  
 all this once seen, and having feasted the eyes of  
 the invited, was removed, and fresh set on to  
 “ the same height, having onely this advantage  
 “ of the other, that it was hot; at one whereof,  
 “ an attendant eat to his single share a whole  
 “ pye reckoned to my lord at twenty pounds,  
 “ being composed of amber-greece, magisterial  
 “ of pearl, musk, &c. yet was so far from be-  
 “ ing sweet in the morning, that he almost poy-  
 “ soned his whole family, flying himself like  
 “ the satyr from his own stink: and another  
 “ went away with forty pound of sweet-meats  
 “ in his cloak-bag.” Yet must I needs judge  
 him uncharitable that writ of this noble person,  
 that when the most able physicians, and his own  
 weakness had passed a judgment he could not  
 live many dayes, he did not forbear his enter-  
 tainments, but made divers brave cloaths, as he  
 said, to outface naked and despicable death;  
 adding withal, *that nature wanted wisdom, power  
 or love, in making man mortal, and subject to dis-  
 eases*: forgetting (as that censorious pen goeth  
 on) that if every individual his own lust had  
 been able to have produced, should have prose-  
 cuted



cuted an equal excess with his, they would in a James I far less time than an age have brought themselves or the world into the same disease he died of, which was a consumption.

For my part, I adhere to their civility that represent his nature modest, his demeanor fair and court-like, his obligations general, his interest as great with the favourite as with the king, and so much the greater with the king, as he studied : him more, and understood him better than any man : though one observeth, he was rather in his favour, than in his bosome, and therefore he took care, that as his expedition and civility made him the great master of requests at court, so his marriage with the heir-general of the Dennies should get him an estate in the country——wherewith he compleated his kindness with bounty, and adorned his bounty with courtesie.——Courtesie not affected, but naturally made up of humility, that secured him from envy, and a civility that kept him in esteem, he being happy in an expression that was high, and not formal ; and a language that was courtly and yet real.

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### *Observations on the Life of Sir Thomas Lake.*

SIR Thomas Lake was bred a scholar under Lloyd, Saravia in Hampshire, a states-man under sir Francis Walsingham at court, where such his dexterity and dispatch, that he would indite,  
write,



James I write, and discourse at the same time, more exactly than most men could severally perform them, being then called the Swift-sure; such his celerity and solidity in all affairs! from the secretaries Amanuensis, he was promoted the queens clerk of the signet, to whom he read French and Latine to her dying day; for he was reading to her, when the countess of Warwick told him that the queen was departed. In which tongues she often said he surpassed her secretaries. Such his sufficiency (especially in keeping secrets) that king James employed him in some French affairs at his first arrival without Cecil, and afterwards as secretary of state above him.

For king James (that loved whatever was facile and fluent) being taken among other his abilities with his Latine pen, said, that *he was a minister of state fit to serve the greatest prince in Europe*; and that the secretaries place needed him more than he it. Of whom I have no more to add, but that he was one of the three noble hands that first led Mr. George Villiers to king James his favour.

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### *Observations on the Life of Lionel Cransfield, Earl of Middlesex.*

Lloyd,

SIR Lionel was born in Basinghal-street, a citizen, bred in the custome-house, a merchant-adventurer; his own tutor, and his own univer-



university; though his family was ancient in James I Gloucestershire, and his arms in the heralds office. King James was taken with him for his brief, clear, strong and pertinent discourses: the duke of Buckingham was displeased because he would stand without him, yea in some things against him: many were as active as this stirring lord, none more exact; his presence was comely, his countenance cheerful and grave, his soul witty and wise, his apprehension quick and solid, his thoughts settled and resolved. When one asked him how a man might prevent death, he said, *get to be lord-treasurer, for none died in that office*. Though no scholar, yet was he bountiful to scholars; though a courtier, yet was he hospitable in the countrey; though he suffered much, yet was he contented; and though he lost much, yet was he charitable. Very serviceable he was to the state in the business of trade in general, but most of that in the custom house in particular: his first preferment was the custody of the wardrobe, his second was the mastership of the court of wards and liveries, and his third the treasurer-ship of England. In the last whereof, his improvement of the revenue, gained him not more honour with the king, than it did him envy from the courtiers; while to piece out the treasure with the expence, he husbanded the one so thriftily, and retrenched the other so rigidly, that malice itself after many attempts to that purpose, could find no fault with his exact account in the boundless trust of the tempting treasury.

When the prince was in Spain, he was the statesman of the council-table, and the chief mi-



**James** <sup>r</sup>nister of the cabal, managing all the dispatches, and overlooking all the expences: in the last of which services he ran counter to the duke of Buckingham's inclination, and his own interest; which was to keep himself up by that noble person's favour, as he rose by his alliance. The occasion of his preferment might be some saving secrets of the custome-house-men to improve the revenue; the reason of his decline, was some thrifty suggestion touching the courtiers to preserve it.

This is certain, he was a man fit for government, who quickly apprehended where any evil was, and had capacity enough to apply the remedy; onely he had a little too stiff a nature that would not easily yield, when he found on which side there was most reason; and too much of the city in his maxims, which pretended to attain to that in a short time, which politicians think not proper to arrive at but by a leasurely succession of ages and generations.

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### *Observations on the Life of Henry Howard Earl of Northampton.*

Lloyd.

**T**His family had endeared itself to many kings by its services, but to none more than king James by its obligations. Thomas duke of Norfolk being as it were his mother's martyr (executed for a design to marry her) and all his relations his confessors (kept under for their inclinations



tions to advance him :) reasonable therefore it James I was, that my lord that dukes brother should be made baron of Marnhill, earl of Northampton, knight of the garter, privy-councillor, lord privy seal, and lord Warden of the cinque-ports.—Learning in any man had king James his affection, especially in a noble-man, as our states-man, who was as serious a student in King's-college and Trinity-hall in Cambridge, as a discerning observator in Rome and Florence in Italy. His *Defensative against the supposed poyson of Prophecies*, dedicated to Sir Francis Walsingham, bespeaks him a great and a general scholar: his speeches at Cambridge and in star-chamber, argue him both witty and wise: his expences shewed him publick-spirited, the unparallel'd port of his family and dependants an ancient noble-man; his designing of Audley-End, and building of Suffolk-house, an architect: his hospital for twelve poor women, and a governour at Rise in Norfolk; for twelve poor men, and a governor at Clin in Shropshire; for twenty poor men, and a governour at Greenwich in Kent (whereof eight to be chosen out of Shoreham where he was born) a charitable man: his using of all his interest to avoid the burthen and weight of the treasurer's place, and procure it for the earl of Suffolk his nephew, his noble dispositions, not to advance himself by court-flattery, or his fortune by state employment, being a batchellour and a student; an instance of my lord Bacon's observation; “ *He*  
“ *that bath wife and children, bath given hostages*  
“ *to fortune, for they are impediments to great En-*  
“ *terprizes either to Vertue or Mischief.* Certainly



James I. *“ the best works, and of greatest merit for the publick proceed from the unmarried and the childless, which both in affection and means have married and endowed the publick.*

But to conclude this particular; this lord told his intimate secretary Mr. George Penny (who related it to my author) that his nativity (at his fathers desire) was calculated by a skilful Italian astrologer, who told him that this his infant-son should taste of much trouble in the midst of his life, even to the want of a meals meat; but his old age should make amends for all, with a plentiful estate: which came to pass accordingly. For his father dying in his infancy, no plentiful provision was made for him: and when his eldest brother Thomas duke of Norfolk was executed, his condition was much impaired; insomuch that being once in London (not overstocked with money) when his noble nephews the earl of Arundel and the lord Thomas Howard were out of town) and loath to pin himself on any table uninvited) he was fain to dine with the chair of duke Humphrey; but other (not to say better company) viz. reading of books in stationers shops in St. Paul's church-yard; though afterwards he attained to great wealth, honour and command: however that lord gave little credit to, and placed less confidence in such predictions; as appeared by a learned work he hath written on that subject.

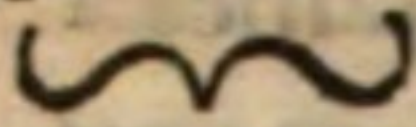


*Observations on the Life of Sir John  
Ramsey, Earl of Holdernefs,  
and Sir Tho. Ereskin Earl of  
Kelley.*

**B**OTH their preferments began on the same <sup>Lloyd.</sup> occasion ; both their natures were eminent for the same innocence and goodness ; both their services tend to the same issue, and therefore both their characters come under one observation ; which it's more proper to take in the word of their countrey-man and contemporary that knew them, than in the expression of a stranger that onely heard of them. The whole story run thus :

The name of Ruthen in Scotland was not notorious, until Anno 1568, when Ruthen amongst others, confederates, in those divided times of trouble, laboured much for the imprisoning queen Mary mother to king James. In 1582, his son William was created Earl Gowry, in the time of that king's minority, though the father bore deadly hatred to the king's prosperity. And in 1584, himself was in actual rebellion, in which he suffered at Dondee. His eldest son John, then in travel in Italy, returns home to inherit his lands and honours ; but not one jot changed in disposition from the traiterous ways of his predecessors : for not long after he falls in-



James I. to this conspiracy ; which is not so ancient, but  that many then and now living, can, and my self, have heard the repetition.

The house of Gowry were all of them much addicted to study chymistry; and these more to practise it, often publishing (as such professors usually do) more rare experiments then ever could be performed ; wherein the king (a general scholar) had little faith. But to infuse more credit to the practise, Alexander Ruthen the second brother takes this occasion, and withal conspires with Gowry to assassinate the king ; and taking opportunity in his hunting, not far from his house St. Johnstone, invites the king to be an eye-witness of his productions. In their way Sir Thomas Erskin (after lord Kelley) overtakes them and others, demanding of the duke of Lenox, then present, why Alexander had ingrossed the king's ear, to carry him from his sports ? *Peace man*, said the duke, *Wee's all be turn'd into gold*. Not far they rid, but that the earl Gowry made good by protestation his brother's story. And thus was the king brought to be a guest.

Neer the end of dinner, at his fruit, and the lords and waiters gone to eat, Alexander begs of the king, at this opportunity to withdraw, and to be partaker of his production, to the view of that which yet he could not believe.

And up he leads the king into by-lodgings, locking each door behind them, till they came into a back-room ; where no sooner entered, but that Alexander claps on his bonnet, and with stern countenance, faces the king and says ; *Now Sir, you must know, I had a Father, whose blood calls for revenge, shed for your sake*. The king  
amazed



amazed, deals gently with his fury, excuses the James :  
guilt of his death, by his then-infancy. Ad-  
vifing him not to lay violent hands on the facred  
perfon of his anointed foveraign, efpecially in a  
caufe of his innocency : pleading the laws of God  
and man ; which fo much wrought upon him,  
that he faid, Well, I will fpeak with my bro-  
ther ; and fo put the king into a lobby room  
next the chamber ; where no fooner entered, but  
that there appeared a fellow weaponed, ready for  
execution, to whole cuftody the king is commit-  
ted till his return.

Alexander gone down, the fellow trembles  
with *Reverence*, puts down his *Sword*, and craves  
pardon ; which gave the king occafion to work  
upon that paffion, and to ask him whether he  
resolved to *murther him* ? being affured to the  
contrary, the king gets leave to open a *window*,  
that looked into a back *Court*. When prefently  
*Alexander* returns, and tells the king that he muft  
*dye* : but much *affrighted* at the fellow's *counte-  
nance*, with his fword offers *violence* to the king ;  
which the *fellow* *feemingly oppofes*, and between  
them began a *fcuffle*, which gave advantage to  
the king to cry *Treason* at the *Window*, which  
looked into a *back-Court*, where fir Thomas  
Erskin, and one Herries, were come in purfuit  
of the king, who was rumoured to be gone out  
the back-way to his *hunting*.

At the cry of *Treason*, and known to be the  
king's *voice*, they both haftened up a back-ftair,  
called the *Turn-pike*, being *directed* by a fervant  
of the houfe, who faw Alexander afcend that  
way. And fo forcing fome doors, they found  
them above, panting with the *fray* ; and up  
comes



James I comes also at heels of them, John Ramsey (after  
 { earl of Holdernefs :) by them Alexander was soon  
 dispatched.

Not long after came the earl Gowry (by his  
 double key) the *first way*, with a case of *Rapiers*,  
 his usual *weapons*, and ready drawn. To whom  
 Erskin said, as to divert his *purpose*; *What do*  
*you mean, my Lord? the King is kill'd*: (for the  
 king was *shadowed*, having cast himself upon a  
*Bed* from his sight, and his cloak was thrown  
 upon the body of Alexander, bleeding upon the  
 ground :) at which Gowry stops, sinking the  
 points of his *weapons*; when suddenly Herries  
 strikes at him with a hunting *Falchion*. And  
 Ramsey having his hawk on his fist, casts her  
 off, and steps in to Gowry, and *stabs* him to the  
*heart*; and forthwith more *Company* came up.

Not long after this conspiracy, Herries dies  
 well rewarded. John Ramsey hath the honour  
 of *Knighthood*, with an additional bearing to his  
 coat of arms, *A hand holding forth a Dagger, re-*  
*versed proper, piercing a bloody Heart, the point*  
*crowned Imperial*, with this distick, \* *Hæc Dex-*  
*tra Vindex Principis & Patriæ*. Afterwards he  
 was created lord Haddington, and earl of Hol-  
 dernefs.

Sir Thomas Erskin was afterwards created  
 earl of Kelly, *Knight* of the *Garter*, *Captain* of  
 the king's *Guard*, and *Groom* of the stool; and  
 the *Fellow* designed for the murtherer, had a large  
*Pension* confirmed by *Act* of their parliament.

And all these men (but Herries) were living,  
 with other witnesses, at king James his journey,  
 when he went from hence to visit Scotland, and  
 met

\* This right hand the avenger of my king and country,



met together by direction at the fame house, with James I *Ceremony*; and all of them, with a number of *Courtiers*, ascended into the same *Room*, the blood yet remaining, where the king related the *Story*, which was confirmed by them. And afterwards kneeling down, with tears of contrition for his *Sins* to God, and thankfulness for this *Mercy*, using many pious ejaculations, embraced all these *Actors* in the former *Tragedy*; when the poor *fellow* also kist the king's hand.

These circumstances gave occasion then, that this whole story was freshly revived, to the common *Satisfaction* of the whole *Countrey*, and our *English* courtiers. And in especial, unto the very reverend bishop, and nobly born, James Mountague, then present, to whom the king addressed himself in this *Relation*, and from whose *Mouth* faith the *Relator*, I received these *particulars*, at his return into *England*.

And thus much we have by word of mouth: somewhat I shall add out of writings, for more satisfaction.

This treason was attempted the fourth of *August* 1600. And though there followed sundry suspicions and examinations of several other persons, supposed *Abettors* and *Contrivers*; yet it lay undiscovered, \* *tanquam e postliminio*, until eight years after, by the circumspection principally of the earl of Dunbar, a man of as great wisdom as those times and that kingdom could boast of, upon the person of one George Sprot, Notary-publick of Ayemouth in Scotland, from some words which at first he sparingly or *unawares expressed*, and also by some papers which

\* As behind the Door.



**James I** which were found in his house ; whereof being examined, with a little ado he confessed, and was condemned and executed at Edinburgh the 12th. of Aug. 1608.

A *Relation* I conceive not common, but in my hands to be produced, and written by that learned gentleman William Hart, then lord *Justice* of Scotland, and *Principal* in all the acts of judicature herein.

Neither of these lords professed any skill in politicks ; yet neither wanted a strong judgement, which they could make good use of in time and place convenient, giving testimonies in those employments they had, of a strict secrecy, a great moderation, and a happy compliance with opportunity, qualities exceedingly well lodged in men of *Interest* and *Command*, especially in these two, who neither too easily closed with others resolutions, nor too obstinately adhered to their own ; one of which was alwayes to suspect men of new words, as much as men of new opinions, because to flye from proper school terms to vulgar conceptions, is a way seldome trodden but by false prophets, and seditious orators—who have done this onely good in the world, that from their collition a considerable deal of light hath proceeded towards the clearing of severall points in philosophy and religion, in the speculations--whereof the men whose lives are so practical and involved in business, are not so distinct, being not at leisure to quest at every lark which men spring in either ; though otherwise the best qualified for such undertakings, because men of most judgement and experience ; and of the least passion of prejudice, and



and by so much the less impetuous and censorious, by how much the more judicious and discreet; and by so much the more value in the eyes of others, by how much the less they are in their own; who have this advantage in controversies, that their religion is thought as much better than their adversaries, as their charity and moderation is greater.

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### *Observations on the Fall of Sir Thomas Lake.*

A Great estate this gentleman had honestly got, and a greater esteem, being king James his right hand, and the Scots both hands; that with which they begged, and that with which they bestowed; the instrument of the meaner sorts relief, and the greater bounty; until that *Malice* and *Revenge*, two violent passions over-ruling the *Weaker-Sex*, concerning his *Wife* and *daughter*, involved him in their quarrel, the chief and onely cause of his *ruine*. He had by his *Wife* sons and daughters: his eldest married unto the lord Baron Rosse (in right of a grand-mother) the son of Thomas earl of Exeter by a former venter. And upon the credit of Sir Thomas Lake, he was sent ambassador extraordinary into Spain, in a very gallant equipage, with some hopes of his own to continue Lieger, to save charges of transmitting any other.

In



James I. In his absence there fell out an extream *deadly*  fewd (tis no matter for what) between the lady Lake, and the countess of Exeter. A youthful widow she had been, and *vertuous*, and so became *Bedfellow* to this *aged, gouty, diseased*, but noble *Earl*. And that *preferment* had made her subject to *Envy* and *Malice*.

Home comes the lord Rosse from his embassie, when being fallen into some neglect of his wife and his kindred, I conceive upon refusal of an increase of *allowance* to her *settlement* of *Joyn-ture*, which was promised to be compleated at his return; not long he stays in England, but away he gets into Italy, turns a professed Roman Catholick, being cozened into that *Religion* by his publick *Confident* Gondamore.

*by old* In this his last absence (*never to return*) the *Mother* and *Daughter* accuse the *Countess* of former *Incontinency* with the lord Rosse whilest he was here, and that therefore upon his *Wives* *discovery* he was fled from hence, and from her *Marriage-Bed*; with other devised *Calumnies*, by several designs and contrivements, to have poysoned the *Mother* and *Daughter*.

This quarrel was soon blazon'd at court, to the *King's ear*, who as privately as could be, singly *examines* each party. The *Countess* with tears and imprecations professeth her *Innocency*; which to oppose, the mother Lake and her daughter counterfeit her hand to a whole sheet of paper; wherein they make the *Countess* with much *contrition* to *acknowledge* her self *guilty*, crave pardon for *attempting* to *poyson* them, and desire *friendship* with them all.

The



The *King* gets sight of this, as in favour to James I them, and demands the *time, place, and occasion* when this should be writ. They tell him that all the parties met in a visit at Wimbleton (the house of the lord of Exeter) where, in dispute of their *differences*, she *confesses* her guilt of attempting their poyson. And being desirous of absolution and friendship (being required there-to) consents to set down all *Circumstances* therein, under her own *hand*, which presently she writ at the *Window* in the upper end of the great *Chamber* at Wimbleton, in presence of the *Mother* and *Daughter*, the lord Rosse, and one Diego a Spaniard, his confiding *Servant*. But now they being gone, and at Rome, the king forthwith sends Mr. Dendy (one of his *Serjeants* at *Armes*, sometimes a Domestick of the earl of Exeter's, an *honest* and worthy *Gentleman*) post to Rome, who speedily returns with Rosse and Diego's hand, and other testimonials, confirming, that all the said *Accusation*, and *Confession*, *Suspensions* and *Papers* concerning the *Countess*, were notorious *false* and *scandalous*; and confirms it by receiving the *Host*, in assurance of her *Honour*, and his *Innocency*. The *King* well satisfied, sends to the *Countesses Friends* and *Trustees* for her *Joynture* and *Estate*; who comparing many of her *letters* with this writing, do confess it *counterfeit*.

Then he tells the *Mother* and *Daughter*, that this writing being denied by her, and their testimonies, being parties, would not prevail with any belief, but any other *Additional witness* would give it sufficient credit. To which they assure him, that one Sarah Swarton their *Chamberesse*, stood



James I stood behind the hanging, at the entrance of the *Room*, and heard the *Countess* read over what she had writ: and her also they procure to swear unto this before the *King*.

To make further tryal, the *King* in a hunting journey at *New-park* near *Wimbleton*, gallops thither, views the *Room*, observing the great distance of the *Window* from the lower end of the room; and placing himself behind the *Hanging*, and so other *Lords* in turn, they could not bear one speak loud from the window.

Then the *Housekeeper* was call'd, who protested those hangings had constantly furnisht that *Room* for thirty years; which the *King* observed to be two foot short of the ground, and might discover the woman, if hidden behind them. I may present also, the king saying, *Oaths cannot confound my sight*.

Besides all this, the *Mother* and *Daughter* counterfeit another writing, a *Confession* of one *Luke Hutton*, acknowledging for 40 pound annuity, the *Countess* hired him to poison them; which *Man*, with wonderful providence was found out privately, and denies it to the *King*.

And thus prepared, the *King* sends for sir *Thomas Lake*, whom indeed he very much valued; tells him the danger to imbarque himself in this quarrel, advising him to leave them to the law, being now ready for the *Star-Chamber*. He humbly thanked his majesty, but could not refuse to be a *Father* and a *Husband*; and so puts his *Name* with theirs in a *cross Bill*, which at the hearing, took up five several days, the *King* sitting in *Judgment*. But the former testimonies, and some private confessions of the lady *Rosse*,  
and



and Sarah Wharton, which the king kept in private, from publick proceedings, made the cause for some of the days of tryal, appear doubtful to the court, until the king's discovery, which concluded the *Sentence*, and was pronounced in several *Censures*; fir Thomas Lake and his lady fined *ten thousand pounds to the King, five thousand pounds to the Countess, fifty pounds to Hutton, Sarah Wharton to be whipt at the Carts tail about the streets, and to do penance at St. Martin's Church.* The lady Rosse, for confessing the truth and plot in the midst of the tryal, was pardoned by the Major Voices from penal sentence.

The King, I remember, compared their Crimes to the first plot of the first *sin in Paradise, the Lady Lake to the Serpent, her Daughter unto Eve, and fir Thomas to poor Adam, whom he thought in his conscience, that his love to his Wife had beguiled him.* I am sure, he paid for all, which, as he told me, cost him *thirty thousand pounds,* and the loss of his *Master's* favour, and offices of gain and konour, but truely with much pity and compassion of the court.

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### *Observations on the Life of the Earl of Suffolk.*

**H**IS Uncle Northampton negotiated his *Lloyd*. preferment, and his father Norfolk deserved it, for whose sake the eldest son Philip earl



James I earl of Arundel was made lord marshal, and  
 this second first chamberlain, and then treasurer:  
 wherein as the earl of Middlesex understood well  
 the priviledges of the city, so my lord ken-  
 ned well the revenues of the crown. But his  
 fair daughter, that gained him most favour, did  
 him most harm; he falling with his son Somer-  
 set's miscarriages, when he might have stood  
 without his relation: being as plain as his bro-  
 ther Henry was subtle; as obliging as he was  
 insinuating; as knowing as he was cunning;  
 the one conversing with *Books*, the other with  
*Men*. A gentleman from whom I requested his  
 character, returns me no more but this: *He was*  
*a man never endued with much patience, and one*  
*that much retarded the progress of his fortune, by*  
*often speaking publickly with too much liberty:*  
 otherwise very true to the maximes of his age.  
 1. Linking himself to the Scots. 2. Buying  
 fee-farm rents to avoid envy, as my lord of Salif-  
 bury before him in the Scots debenturers names.  
 3. Promoting *Northern* suits. And 4. Project-  
 ing for money.

He was also chancellor of Cambridge, loving  
 and beloved of the university. When at his first  
 coming to Cambridge, Mr. Francis Nethersole  
 oratour of the university, made a latine speech  
 unto him; the lord returned, *Though I under-*  
*stand not Latine, I know the sense of your oration*  
*is to tell me that I am welcome to you; which I*  
*believe verily: I thank you for it heartily, and will*  
*serve you faithfully in any thing within my power.*  
 Dr. Harsenet the vice-chancellor laying hold on  
 the handle of so fair a proffer, requested him to  
 be pleased to entertain the king at Cambridge;  
 a fa-



a favour which the university could never compass from their former great and wealthy chancellours; *I will do it (saith the lord) in the best manner I may, and with the speediest conveniency.* James I

Nor was he worse than his word, giving his majesty such a treatment in the university, as cost him five thousand pounds and upwards. Hence it was, that after his death, Thomas his second son, earl of Bark-shire (not suing for it, nor knowing of it) was chosen to succeed him, losing the place (as some suspected) not for lack of voices, but fair counting them.

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### *Observations on the Life of Sir Robert Cary.*

**H**E was born an ingenious man, of good Lloyd. parts and breeding; but of so uncourtly a temper, that in all likelihood we had not heard of him, had he not had the luck to have been the first messenger let out of the court by the favour of his father the lord chamberlain, to bring king James news that queen Elizabeth was dead; when the Scots expectation was so *tyred*, that *they thought Queen Eliz. would never dye, as long as there was an old woman that could either wear good cloaths, or eat good meat in England.* Upon which good account he is a bed-chamber-man to king James, and a tutor to prince Charles; though he had made better use of his talent as a soldier, than as a courtier, having too much

Vol. II. G of,



James I of the candor of that family; that as the historian observed, *spake of things alwayes as they deserved*: and though he had wit enough, yet he had not the judgement or way to make *those stand in awe of him*, who were *most obliged to him*.

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*Observations on the Lives of Sir Robert Naunton, and Sir Francis Netherfole.*

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Lloyd.

SIR Robert Naunton is the author of one book of observations upon the states-men of queen Elizabeth's times, and must be the subject of another of king James's: he noted then in his youth, what he was to practice afterwards in his more reduced years. His university-studies at Trinity-Colledge, whereof he was commoner; and at Trinity-Hall whereof he was Fellow; his speeches both while proctor and orator of Cambridge, discovered him more inclined to publick accomplishments, than private studies: he improved the opportunity of the speech he was to make before king James at Hinchinbrook so well, that as his majesty was highly affected with his latine and learning, so he exactly observed his prudence and serviceableness; whereupon he came to court as sir Thomas Overburie's assistant first, and then as sir George Villiers friend, who promoted him to be secretary of state, Jan. 8. 1617, as his majesty



jesty did a while after to be Mr. of the Wards. James I  
 The first place whereof he discharged with as much  
 much ability and dexterity, as he did the second  
 with integrity; only he was observed close-hand-  
 ed, whether out of his natural inclination “to  
 “parsimony, or some fixed design to regulate  
 “and reduce the great expences of this nation;  
 “or from some hidden and refined politick con-  
 sideration, that that might be done by a wary  
 observation of men’s integrity and inclination,  
 which was usually done with money: and indeed,  
 as a great man observeth, to procure good “in-  
 “formation of particulars touching persons,  
 “their natures, their desires and ends, their  
 “customs and fashions, their helps and advan-  
 “tages, and whereby they chiefly stand: so a-  
 gain, their weakneses and disadvantages, and  
 where they lye most open and obnoxious; their  
 friends, factions, and dependencies: and again,  
 their opposites, envyers, and competitors; their  
 moods and times, their principles, rules, ob-  
 servations, &c. their actions how conducted,  
 how favoured, how opposed, &c. is the onely  
 way of success in business, and of prevailing  
 in fortune, especially if attended with this gen-  
 tleman’s two master-qualities; 1. Reservedness,  
 the security; 2. Slowness of belief, the finew of  
 wisdom. Finding his temper agreeable with the  
 university, he allowed himself more scope and  
 liberty; but observing his particular constitution  
 not suitable to the general state of his times, the  
 whole course of his life was more close, retyr-  
 ed, and reserved, opening it self but with an  
 half-light, and a full advantage: and what he  
 was to others, he believed all others were to  
 him,



James I him, as hardly trusting *them*, as he was understood *himself*, unless surprized in his countenance by the motions of it, or in his actions by the suddenness of them, or in his temper by his passion, but as far as can be guessed; from the letters that passed between them about the palatinate. He was of the same make in the state, as arch-bishop Abbot was in the church, zealous and fullen; if others had a better wit than *he* in abusing him, he had a better *memory* than they to think of it; for one Mr. Wiemark a wealthy man, a great novilant, and constant Paul's walker, hearing the news that day of the beheading of sir Walter Rawleigh; *His head* (said he) *would do well upon the shoulders of Sir Robert Naunton, Secretary of State.* These words were complained of, and Wiemark summoned to the privy-council, where he pleaded for himself, that he intended no disrespect to Mr. Secretary, whose known worth was above all detraction; onely he spake in reference to an old proverb, *Two heads are better than one*; and for the present he was dismissed. Not long after, when rich men were called on for a contribution to St. Pauls, Wiemark at council-table subscribed a hundred pounds; but Mr. Secretary told him, *Two hundred were better than one*; which betwixt fear and charity Wiemark was fain to subscribe.

Neither was he sooner up, than he gave his colleague and successor in the orators place, sir Francis Nethersole, his hand to advance him too; whom after his elegant speech on prince Henry, we find a prudent agent with the princes of the union, and a faithful secretary to the queen



queen of Bohemia, for whom he did much, and James I suffered more. Yet was he lately alive, and as *charitable* in his elder years, as ever he was *noble* in his younger.

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*Observations on the Life of*  
*Sir Arthur Ingram.*

SIR Arthur had *wit* in Italy, where he was Lloyd. a factor, and *wealth* in London, where he was a merchant, to be first a *Customer*, and then a cofferer to that king, who had this happiness, that he understood so much of all his affairs, as to make a judgement of what persons might be most serviceable to him in each of them. So pragmatical a person as this gentleman, was necessary among the custom-house-men, who were about to engross all the wealth of the kingdom, and as useful among the green-cloth-men, who shared amongst themselves vast concealments. The activity of his head had undone him, had not the odium of it been allayed by the discretion of his tongue; whatever he spake, being naturally accompanied with such a kind of modesty and affability as gained the affection, and attracted the respect of all that conversed with him: onely some wary men were jealous of that watchful and serene habit he had attained to in every conference and action, as well to observe as to act: though it was more than they needed, he having not that good stay and hold of himself,



James I self, his much observing tempting him to much meddling; though never more need of it than at that time, when ninety and odd thousand pounds were spent upon the palgrave; to reimburse which money, he set up the improvement of coyn, the farthings, the borrowing of money of the customers, and as many other projects to get money, as others had to spend it.

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*Observations on the Life of  
Sir Henry Yelverton.*

Lloyd.

**T**HIS gentleman's relation to sir Thomas Overbury brought him to the earl of Somerset's service, and my lord of Somerset's service recommended him to the kings favour; whereby he was at first his counsellor learned, and afterwards his attorney-general; in which last place his duty enjoined him the impeachment of that earl, but his gratitude forbade him: loth he was to refuse his master's command, more loth to have a hand in his patron's ruine; his civility outweighed his prudence, and his obligations his safety: for refusing to implead his Mr. as a great delinquent at the bar, he was sent by the council as a greater to the tower, where he continued until (as some say) the duke of Buckingham came to him at midnight; and hearing from him such mysteries of state as nearly concerned his own safety, not onely released, but advanced him to a place of



of judicature; which his integrity and ability James I might deserve, but his niceness and narrowness could not keep it: *Law and Equity have two Courts, but Law and Discretion should dwell in one breast.* The truth is there is a great advantage in the “well-setting forth of a man’s  
“vertues, fortunes, merits; and again, in the  
“artificial covering of a man’s weakneses, de-  
“fects, disgraces; staying upon the one, shi-  
“ding from the other, making use of circum-  
“stances, &c. which this good and plain man was a stranger to, being not so true to himself, or so settled, but that either upon heat, or bravery, or kindness, or trouble of mind and weakness, he would open himself to his enemies satisfaction, and his own hazard.—Yet I must needs say, that his letter of submission to the duke was *ingenuous*, if he was *guilty*; and *Courtly*, if he was *innocent*. Sir Francis Bacon took a wiser course in my lord of Essex his case, than he in the earl of Somerset’s; for when that lord entertained destructive, before displeasing counsel, the knowing knight fairly forsook not his person, whom his pity attended to his grave, but his practises; and herein was not the *worse* friend, for being the *better* subject.



James I

*Observations on the Life of  
Bishop Mountague.*

Lloyd.

**J**AMES MOUNTAGUE, son to sir Edward Montague, was born at Boughton in Northamptonshire, bred in Christ's-Colledge in Cambridge: he was afterwards master, or rather nursing-father to Sidney-Colledge; for he found it in bonds to pay twenty marks *per annum* to Trinity-Colledge for the ground whereon it is built, and left it free, assigning it a rent for the discharge thereof. When the king's ditch in Cambridge made to defend it by its strength, did in his time offend it with its stench, he expended a hundred marks to bring running water into it, to the great conveniency of the university. He was afterwards Bishop first of Bath and Wells, then of Winchester, being highly in favour with king James, who did ken a man of merit, as well as any prince in Christendom. He translated the works of king James into Latine, and improved his greatness to do good offices therewith. He dyed *Anno Dom. 1618. Ætat. 49.* and lyeth buried within his fair monument, within his fairer, I mean a goodly tomb in the church of Bath, which oweth its well-being and beauty to his munificence. King James cast his eye upon him at Hinchbrook (where the university of Cambridge met him as he came from Scotland) because



because he observed him one of those he James I knew he must oblige, I mean a gentleman: he set his heart upon him at court, because he found him one he intended to employ, I mean a *Scholar*. He was the onely man of all the doctors he conversed with there, and the onely man of all the bishops he consulted with at White-hall. His nature inclined him to magnificence, and his vertue to *Thrift*; sparing from lesser vanities, what he might expend upon greater enterprizes; never sparing when just designs called for great charge. Grateful he was to his followers, though not prodigal: good men choose rather to be loved “for their benefits to the community, than those to private persons: his understanding was as large as his heart was honest, comprehensive both of *men* and *things*; even those things that were either below or besides his care, going not besides his observation; he held a freedom of the will not from an humble dependance upon the first cause, but from a fatal compulsion by the second causes, *nec truncos nec Sacrilegos*, abhorring to make that noble creature man created by God after his own image, to be the governour of the universe, lord and master of the creatures, should be no more than the man in the beginning of almanacks, who is placed immoveable in the midst of the 12 signs, as so many second causes, if he offered to stir, Aries is over his head ready to push him; and Taurus to goar him in the neck, &c.

He anticipated his age with his worth, and died at four-score in merit, when not fifty in years;



**J**ames 1 years; filling his time not with dayes but with vertues so early, as seemed rather innate than acquired: for which he was so *popular* in the countrey, as well as favoured at court; that a *corpulent* officer of Bath church being appointed on the day of his burial to keep the doors, entered on his employment in the morning, but was buried himself before night, and before the bishop's body was put in the ground; because being bruised to death by the *pressing* in of *people*, his corps required speedy interment.—In those dayes the Plebs *concurred* with the king in their affections *to*, because they *submitted* to him in their choice of persons; for then wisdom was thought to dwell in the *Head*, and good folks thought their soveraign wiser than *themselves*.

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*Observations on the Life of*  
*Sir Edmund Anderson.*

Lloyd.

**S**IR Edmund Anderson was born a younger brother of a gentile extract at Flixborough in Lincolnshire, and bred in the inner temple. I have been informed that his father left him a thousand pounds for his portion, which this our Sir Edmund multiplied into many, by his great proficiency in the common-law, being made the 24th of queen Elizabeth chief justice of the common-pleas. When secretary Davison was sentenced in the star-chamber for the business of the queen



queen of Scots, judge Anderson said of him, that James I therein he had done \* *justum non juste*; and so acquitting him of all malice, censured him with the rest of his indiscretion. When H. Cuffe was arraigned about the rising of the earl of Essex, and when Sir Edward Coke, the queens solicitor, opposed him, and the other answered syllogistically, our Anderson (sitting there as a judge of law, not logick) checked both pleader and prisoner, *ob stolidos syllogismos*, for their foolish syllogismes, appointing the former to press the statute of Edward the third. He died in the third of king James, leaving great estates to several sons. He was a pure legist, that had little skill in the affairs of the world, always alledging a decisive case or statute on any matter or question, without any regard to the decency, or respect to be had towards a state, or government, and without that account of a moderate interpretation, some circumstances of things require, being so much the less useful as he was in-compliant, and one whom none addressed to, because, as one observes of Cardinal Corrado; *Such think they do in some manner sacrifice themselves when they do but in the least act against their own opinions, to do a man a little pleasure.* There are a kind of honest men of good conscience, whose capacities being narrow, entertain private resolutions, inconsistent with publick interest; who may for me pass for good men, but shall never be censured or registred for good citizens; because when streight-laced and short apprehensions are resolved into conscience and maximes, those men are

\* What was just, but not lawfully. † Cambden  
 Eliz. Anno 1587. ‡ Idem, Anno 1600.



James I are obliged to be so obstinate as to change or  
remit nothing of their first resolutions, how unreasonable soever in themselves, or dangerous in the consequence. State-policy is wholly involved in matter and circumstances of time, place, and persons ; not capable of such exact rules as geometry, Arithmetick, and other sciences, whose subject is abstracted from matter ; he who manageth state-affairs by general rules, will quickly ruin both himself and those who are committed to his government ; the quintessence of policy doth consist in the dextrous and skilful application of general rules to the subject matter : one of the great ends of policy and government, is the creating a mutual confidence amongst men ; and to allay those distracting jealousies grounded on an universal suspicion of human nature (much like the good womans fear that the log would leap out of the fire, and knock out the brains of her child) which have no other use, than the begetting of perpetual vexations, the discouragement of free trade and converse ; a teaching of them who are suspected often to do worse than they imagined, and the creating of sedition and troubles.



*Observations on the Life of Sir  
Thomas Bodley, by himself.*

1. **I** Was born at Exeter in Devonshire, Lloyd, March 2, 1544. descended both by father and mother of worshipful parents. My father in the time of queen Mary, being noted and known to be an enemy to popery, was so cruelly threatned and so narrowly observed, by those that maliced his religion, that for the safeguard of himself and my mother, who was wholly affected as my father, he knew no way so secure as to fly into Germany.

2. My father fixed his abode in the city of Geneva ; where, as far as I remember, the English church consisted of some hundred persons. I was at that time of twelve years of age, but through my fathers cost and care, sufficiently instructed to become an auditor of Chevallerius in Hebrew, of Beroaldus in Greek, of Calvin and Beza in divinity, and of some other professors in that university (which was newly then erected) besides my domestick teachers in the house of Philibertus Saracenus, a famous physician in that city, with whom I was boarded, where Robertus Constantinus, that made the Greek Lexicon, read Homer to me.

3. In



James I

3. In the first of Queen Elizabeth, my Father returned, and settled his dwelling in the City of London. It was not long after, that I was sent away from thence to the University of Oxford, recommended to the teaching and tuition of Doctor Humphrey. In the year 1563. I took the Degree of Batchellor of Arts ; within which Year I was chosen Probationer of Merton College, and the next year ensuing admitted Fellow. Afterwards, in the year 1565, by special perswasion of some of my Fellows, and for my private Exercise, I undertook the publick reading of a Greek Lecture in the same College-Hall, without requiring or expecting any stipend for it : Nevertheless it pleased the Fellowship of their own accord to allow me soon after four marks by the year, and ever since to continue the Lecture to that Colledge.

4. In the year 1566, I proceeded Master of Arts, and read for that year in the School-streets natural Philosophy. After which time, within less than three years space, I was won by intreaty of my best affected friends to stand for the Proctorship, to which I and my Colleague were quietly elected in the year 1569, without any competition or counter-suit of any other. After this for a long time, I supplied the Office of University-Oratour, and bestowed my time in the study of sundry faculties, without any inclination to profess any one above the rest ; in-somuch as at last I waxed desirous to travel beyond the Seas ; for attaining to the knowledge of some special modern Tongues, and for the encrease of my experience in the managing of  
affairs ;



affairs ; being wholly then addicted to employ James r myself and all my cares in the publick service of  the State.

5. After my return, in the year 1585, I was employed by the Queen to the King of Denmark, and to the German Princes : Next, to Henry the third, King of France : After this, in 88, for the better conduct of her Highness Affairs in the Provinces united, I was thought a fit person to reside in those Parts, and was sent there-upon to the Hague in Holland ; where, according to the Contract that had formerly passed between her Highness and the States, I was admitted for one of their Council of Estate, taking place in their Assemblies next to Count Maurice, and yielding my suffrage in all that was proposed. During all that time, what approbation was given of my painful endeavours by the Queen, by the Lords in England, by the States of the Countrey there, and by all the English Soldiery, I refer it to be notified by some others Relation.

6. I received from her Majesty many comfortable Letters of her gracious acceptance of my diligence and care : And among the Lords of the Council had no man more to friend, then was the Lord Treasurer Burleigh. For when occasion had been offered of declaring his conceit as touching my service, he would always tell the Queen (which I received from herself and some other Ear-witnesses) that there was not any man in England so meet as myself to undergo the Office of the Secretary. And sithence his Son, the present Lord Treasurer hath signified



James I.  fied unto me in private conference, that when his Father first intended to advance him to that place, his purpose was withal to make me his Colleague : But that the daily provocations of the Earl of Effex were so bitter and sharp against him, and his comparifons so odious when he put us in a balance, as he thought thereupon he had very great reason to use his best means, to put any man out of hope of raising his fortune, whom the Earl with such violence, to his extream prejudice, had endeavoured to dignifie.

7. When I had well considered, how ill it did concur with my natural disposition, to become or to be counted either a stickler or partaker in any publick faction ; how well I was able, by Gods good blessing, to live of myself, if I could be contented with a competent livelihood ; I resolved thereupon to possess my soul in peace all the residue of my days, to take my farewell of State-employments, and so to retire me from the Court.

8. Now although after this, by her Majesties direction, I was often called to the Court, by the now Lord Treasurer, then Secretary, and required by him, and also divers times since, by order from the King, to serve as Ambassador in France, and to negotiate in other very honourable employments, yet I would not be removed from my former final resolution ; but have continued at home my retired course of life, which is now methinks to me as the greatest preferment the State can afford.

9. This I must confess of myself, that though I did never repent me yet of my often refusals  
of



of honourable offers, in respect of enriching my James's private estate; yet somewhat more of late I have blamed myself and my nicety that way, for the love that I bear to my reverend mother the university of Oxford, and to the advancement of her good by such kind of means as I have since undertaken.

10. Having examined what course I might take, I concluded at the last to set up my staffe at the library door; being thoroughly perswaded, that in my solitude and surcrease from the common-wealth affairs, I could not busie myself to better purpose than by reducing that place (which then in every part lay ruined and waste) to the publick use of students.

11. For the effecting whereof, I found myself furnished in a competent proportion, of such four kinds of aids, as unlesse I had them all, there was no hope of good success. For without some kind of knowledge, as well in the learned modern tongues, as in sundry other sorts of scholastick literature; without some purse-ability to go through with the charge; without very great store of honourable friends to further the design, and without special good leisure to follow such a work, it could but have prov'd a vain attempt, and inconsiderate.

12. But how well I have sped in all my endeavours, and how full provision I have made for the benefit and ease of all frequenters of the library; that which I have already performed in sight; that besides, which I have given for the maintenance of it; and that which hereafter I purpose to add, by way of enlargement to that place (for the project is cast, and whether I live

H

or



James I or dye, it shall be, God willing, put in full execution) will testifie so truly and abundantly for me, as I need not to be the publisher of the dignity and worth of mine own institution. *Written with mine own hand, Anno 1609. Decemb. 15.*

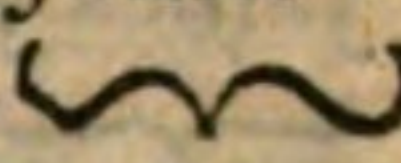
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*Observations on the Life of Henry Vere Earl of Oxford.*

Lloyd.

“ **H**ENRY VERE was son of Edward  
 “ Vere, the seventeenth earl of Oxford,  
 “ and Anne Trentham his lady; whose prin-  
 “ cipal habitation (the rest of his patrimony  
 “ being then wasted) was at Heningham Castle  
 “ in Essex: a vigorous gentleman, full of cou-  
 “ rage and resolution, and the last lord cham-  
 “ berlain of England of this family. His stur-  
 “ dy nature would not bow to court-compli-  
 “ ants, who would maintain what he spake,  
 “ speak what he thought, think what he appre-  
 “ hended true and just, though sometimes dan-  
 “ gerous, and distastful. Once he came into  
 “ court with a great milk white feather about  
 “ his hat, which then was somewhat unusual,  
 “ save that a person of his merit might make  
 “ a fashion. The reader may guess the lord  
 “ who said to him in some jeer, *My lord you*  
 “ *wear a very fair Feather: It's true,* (said the  
 “ earl) *and if you mark it, there's ne'er a taint*  
 “ in



“ in it. Indeed his family was ever loyal unto James I  
 “ the crown, deserving their motto, 

\* *Vero nil Verius.*

His predecessors had not been more implacable enemies to Spain in the low-countries, than he was at White hall, backing those arguments against the match stoutly in the presence chamber, that doctor Hackwel had urged zealously in the pulpit; and as resolutely suffering imprisonment for the one, as the doctor did suspension for the other; declaring himself as freely against the agent Gondomar, as against his business, the marriage: for chancing to meet Gondomar at an entertainment, the *Don* accosted him with high complements, vowing; *That amongst all the Nobility of England, there was none he had tendered his service to with more sincerity than to his lordship, though hitherto such his unhappiness, that his affections were not accepted according to his integrity that tendered them. It seems* (replied the earl of Oxford) *that your lordship hath good leisure, when stooping in your thoughts to one so inconsiderable as my self, whose whole life hath afforded but two things memorable therein. It is your lordship's modesty* (returned the Spaniard) *to undervalue your self, whilest we the spectators of your Honour's deserts, make a true and impartial estimate thereof; hundreds of memorables have met in your lordship's life: But, good my lord, what are those two signal things more conspicuous than all the rest? They are these two*

H 2

(said

• Nothing truer than Truth.



James I (said the earl) *I was born in the year 88, and christened on the fifth of November.*

Neither was he a more inveterate enemy to the church of Rome, than a cordial friend to that of *England*; for presenting one Mr. Copinger to Laneham, he added, to try him, *He would pay no tythes of his park*: “Mr. Copinger desired  
“ again to resign it to his Lordship, rather than  
“ by such sinful gratitude to betray the rights  
“ of the church.”—*Well, if you be of that mind* (said the earl) *than take the tythes; I scorn that my estate should swell with church-goods.*

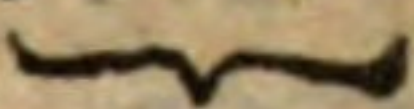
Going over one of the four English colonels into the low-countries, and endeavouring to raise the siege of Breda, he so over-heated himself with marching, fighting and vexing (the design not succeeding) that he died after, anno dom. 1625. He married Diana, one of the co-heirs of William earl of Exeter, (afterwards to Edward earl of Elgin) by whom he left no issue.

### *Observations on the Life of Sir Francis Vere.*

Lloyd.

**SIR** Francis Vere (governour of Bril and Portsmouth) was of the ancient, and of the most noble extract of the earls of Oxford; and it may be a question, whether the nobility of his house, or the honour of his achievements, might most commend him, who brought as much glory to his name, as he received



ceived honour from it : He was amongst his queen's James I  
 Sword men inferiour to none, but superiour to many :   
 He lived oftner in the camp, than court ; but when  
 his pleasure drew him thither, no man had more of  
 the queen's favour, and none less envied. He was a  
 soldier of great worth, and commanded thirty years  
 in the service of the states, and twenty years over  
 the English in " chief as the queen's general ; and  
 " he that had seen the battle of Newport, might  
 " there best have taken him and his noble brother the  
 " lord of Tilbury to the life." They report that  
 the queen as she loved martial men, would court  
 this gentleman as soon as he appeared in her pre-  
 sence ; for he seldom troubled it with the noise  
 and alarms of supplication ; his way was another  
 sort of underminig, as resolved in the court as in  
 the camp, as well to justifie his \* patron, as to  
 serve her majesty, telling her the plain truth  
 more sincerely than any man ; choosig (as he  
 said) rather to fall by the malice of his enemies,  
 than be guilty of ingratitude to his friends : Yea,  
 and when he sued for the government of Portf-  
 mouth, and some grandees † objected, that that  
 place was always bestowed on noblemen, he an-  
 swered ; *There were none ennobled but by their Prin-  
 ces favour, and the same way he took.*

\*The Earl of Essex.

† The Lord Norris.



James I

*The Veres compared.**Veri scipiadae, \* Duo fulmina belli.*

Lloyd.

SIR Francis and Sir Horace Vere, sons of Jeffery Vere Esq; who was son of John Vere, the fifteenth earl of Oxford; we will first consider severally, and then compare joyntly, to see how their actions and arms performed, what their birth and blood promised.

SIR Francis was of a fiery spirit and rigid nature, undaunted in all danger, not overvaluing the price of mens lives to purchase a victory therewith. He served on the scene of all Christendom where war was acted. One master-piece of his valour was at the battel of Newport, when his ragged regiment (so were the Englishmen called, from their ragged Cloathes) helped to

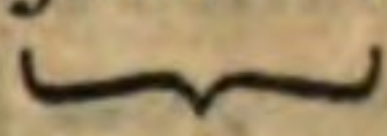
SIR Horace had more meekness, and as much valour as his brother; so pious that he first made peace with God, before he went to war with man. One of an excellent temper; it being true of him what is said of the Caspian sea, that it doth never ebb nor flow; observing a constant tenor, neither elated nor depressed with success. Had one seen him returning from a victory, he

\* The two Thunderbolts of War.



make all whole, or else all had been lost.

Another was, when for three years he defended Ostend against a strong and numerous army, surrendring it at last a bare skeleton to the king of Spain, who paid more years purchase for it, than probably the world would endure. He died in the beginning of the reign of king James, about the year of our Lord, 16—

he would by his silence James I have suspected that he  had lost the day; and had he beheld him in a retreat, he would have collected him a conqueror, by the cheerfulness of his spirit. He was the first baron of K. Charles his creation. Some years after, coming to court, he fell suddenly sick and speechless, so that he died afore night, anno dom. 163... No doubt he was well prepared for death, seeing such his vigilancy, that never any enemy surprised him in his Quarters.

Now to compare them together (such their eminency, that they would hardly be parallel'd by any but themselves :) Sir Francis was the elder brother, Sir Horace lived to be the elder man. Sir Francis was more feared, Sir Horace more loved by the soldiery: The former in martial discipline was oftentimes \* *rigidus ad ruinam*, the latter feldome exceeded † *ad terrorem*. Sir Francis left none, Sir Horace no male-issue, whose four co-heirs are since matched into honourable

\* Rigid to Ruin.

† To Terror.



James I nourable Families. Both lived in war, much  
 ~~~~~ honoured ; dyed in peace, much lamented.

What is a great question among all martial men, was so between these brethren ; whether to repair a reputation ruined by some infamous disgrace, “ and the honour abused by some notorious loss, the general ought to oppose the “ fortune that oppresseth him,” and hazard what remains, to recover what is lost ? Sir Francis was of opinion, *That though it's not the interest of a supream prince, yet it is the concern of a subordinate commander to support his credit at the rate of his army.* But Sir Horace was never for sacrificing the whole for the advancing of any part, or of many for the humouring of one ; but chose rather to break the impetuosity of his misfortunes by yielding to them, and rather recover both himself and his success by a prudent retreat, than lose both in an obstinate misadventure.—It being far more eligible to suffer in the imaginary interest of repute, than that real one of strength : though appearances are yet so useful, that dexterously to manage the reputation of affairs, is to imprint in men a great opinion of vertue and fortune, to enhance successes, and raise that respect and confidence that seldom fall to the share of reservation and fear. But apart from that too much caution that betrayeth, and over-much rashness that hazardeth our fortunes, both these heroes were very choice in the places of their engagements ; for when all the generals before the battle of Newport were for quitting the upper downs, Sir Francis Vere well knowing how much it imported the business of the

the day to hold a place of such advantage, per-James I
swaded Count Maurice rather to expect the ene-
my in that ground, than attaque him in a worse;
wherein as his opinion prevailed, so all that
were present, were eye-witnesſes both of the
truth of his conjecture, and the foundneſs of
his judgment: For the enemy, as he ſaid, did
not long gaze upon them; but charging up the
hill, were beaten back ſo effectually, that our
men had the execution of them for half a mile;
which was no ſmall advantage to the fortune of
that day.

Neither were they leſs obſervant of their time,
that mother of action, than their place; neither
haſty nor ſlow to manage an opportunity that
is neither often or long the ſame; — or of the
order of their army than both, whereof each
part aſſiſted the other at Newport, and elſewhere
ſo readily, that their ſhouts and charges equally
amazed their friends and enemies.

The reliefs of Rhinbergh were actions of great
reſolution, ready diſpatch, a watchful circum-
ſpection, and good purſuit: The ſuccour of
Lithenhooven was a performance of great and
mature deliberation; the ſurprize of *Zutphen* by
young ſoldiers in womens apparel, was a piece
of ſervice of many particular ſtratagems; and
the ſiege of *Daventer* of as much ſage advice.—
All inſtances of the wonders that courage can do
when wiſe, valour when ſober, a paſſion when
rational, and a great ſpirit when adviſed.

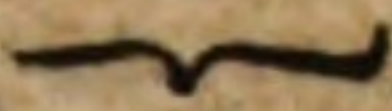


Observations on the Life of
Richard Cofin, LL. D.

Lloyd.

Richard Cofin, L L. D. (one the greatest civilians our nation bred, the grand Champion of Episcopacy, was (amongst all the countreys of England) born in the bishoprick of Durham. His father was a person of quality, a captain of a company at Muscledorrough-field, whence his valour returned with victory and wealth; when crossing the river Tweed [O the uncertainty of all earthly happiness!] he was drowned therein, to the great loss of his son Richard; and greater, because he was not sensible thereof, as left an infant in the cradle. His mother afterwards married one Mr. Meadow, a York-shire gentleman, who bred this his son-in-law at a school at Skipton upon Craven; wherein such was his proficiency, that before he was twelve years old (little less then a wonder to me, in that age, from so far a countrey) he was admitted into Trinity-colledge in Cambridge. Some of his friends in Queen's-colledge in that university had a design to fetch him thence, had not doctor Beaumont prevented the plot, in making him scholar and fellow as soon as by his age, degree, and the statutes he was capable thereof.

He was a general scholar, geometrician, musician, physician, divine, but chiefly, civil and
 canon

canon lawyer. By arch-bishop Whitgift he was James I preferred to be first chancellor of Worcester,  [in that age a place *non tam graciosus quam negotiosus*, Not so agreeable as full of business] and afterwards dean of the arches, wherein he carried himself without giving (though many took) offence at him.

Of these one wrote a book against him called the *Abstract* [abstracted, saith my author, from all wit, learning, and charity] to whom he returned such an answer in defence of the high-commission, and oath *Ex Officio*, that he put his adversary to silence.

Others lay to his charge, that he gave many blank licences, the common occasion of unlawful marriages; and the procurer is as bad as the thief, robbing many a parent of his dear child thereby. But alwayes malice looks through a multiplying-glasse. Euclid complained, * *In-tromisisti sexcentos Coquos*, Thou hast let in six hundred cooks, when there was but two truly told [Antrax and Congrio] so here was but one, which a fugitive servant stole from a register to make his private profit thereby. God in his sickness granted him his desire which he made in his health; that he might be freed from torture, which his corpulency did much suspect, bestowing *eudavaria* upon him, a sweet and quiet departure. Pious his dying expressions; *I desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ*, Phil. 1. *The wages of sin is death*, Rom. 6. *Come Lord Jesus, come quickly*, Revel. 12. And his last words were these; *Farewel my surviv-*
ing

* Plau. in Aularia.

James ring friends; remember your mortality, and eternal life.

He gave forty pounds to the building of a chamber in Trinity-colledge, and fifteen pounds *per annum* for the maintenance of two scholarships therein: a good gift out of his estate, who left not above fifty pounds a year clear to his heir: a great argument of his integrity, that he got no more in so gainful a place. Dying at Doctors Commons, he was buried by his own appointment in Lambeth church, and doctor Andrews preached his funeral-sermon. Amongst the many verses made by the university of Cambridge, this (with the allowance of poetical licence) came from no bad fancy.

*Magna Deos inter lis est exorta: creatas
Horum qui lites dirimit, ille deest.
Cofinum potiere dii componere tantas
Lites, quod vero jure peritus erat.*

A most moderate man he was in his own nature, but more earnest in the business of the church, in the behalf of which he writ many books of validity, &c.

It must not be forgotten, that doctor Barlow (afterwards bishop of Lincoln) was bred by doctor Cofin at his charge in his own family; who in expression of his thankfulness, wrote this doctor Cofin's life, out of which most of the aforesaid character hath been taken.

*Observations on the Life of the
Lord Chief-Justice * Cook.*

THIS accomplished person was well born at Lloyd's Mileham in Norfolk, of Robert Cook, Esq; and Winifred Knightly his Wife, and as well bred. 1. When ten years of age at Norwich School. 2. At Trinity-colledge in Cambridge. 3. After four years university study, first in Clifford's inn, and then in the Inner-temple. The first occasion of his Rise, was his stating of the cooks case of the temple so exactly, that all the house who were puzzled with it, admired him; and his pleading it so, that the whole bench took notice of him. Such his proficiency, that at the end of six years (exceeding early in that strict age) he was called to the bar, and soon after, for three years, chosen reader in Lyon's inn. Here his learned Lecture so spread forth his fame, that crouds of clients sued to him for his counsel; and his own suit was the the sooner granted, when tendering his affections in order to marriage, unto Bridget, daughter and co-heir of John Paston, Esq; whose portion moderately estimated, *Viis & modis*, amounted unto thirty thousand pounds, her vertues not falling under valuation, and she enriched her husband with ten children.

Then

James I Then began preferment to presse upon him; the city of Norwich choosng him recorder, the county of Norfolk their knight for parliament, the queen her speaker therein, as also her solicitor and attorney. King James honoured him with knighthood, and made him chief-justice, first of the common-pleas, then of the king's-bench. Thus beginning on a good bottom left him by his father, marrying a wife of extraordinary wealth; having at the first great and gainful practice, afterwards many and profitable offices, being provident to choose good penny-worths in purchases, leading a thrifty life, living to a great age during flourishing and peaceable times (born as much after the persecution under queen Mary, as dying before our civil wars) no wonder if he advanced to a fair estate, so that all his sons might seem elder brethren, by the large possessions left unto them.

Some falsely character him a back-friend to the church and clergy, being a grand benefactor to the church of Norwich, who gratefully under their publick seal honoured him with this ensuing testimony.

Edwardus Coke *Armiger, sæpius & in multis difficillimis Negotiis Ecclesiæ nostræ auxiliatus est, & Nuper eandem contra Templorum Helluones, qui Dominia, Maneria & Hæreditamenta nostra devorare sub Titulo obscuro (Concelatum dicunt) sponte suâ nobis insciis, & sine mercede ullâ legitimè tutatus est; atque eandem suam nostri Defensionem in perpetuam tantæ rei memoriam, & posterorum gratiâ, (si opus fuerit)*
magna

magna cum industria & scriptis redegit, & No- James I
stræ Ecclesiæ donavit.

Edward Coke, Esq; who in many and great difficulties assisted our church: and lately without our knowledge, of his own accord, without any reward, legally defended it against the plunderers of the church, who under an obscure title (*called Concelatum*) attempted to seize on our demeasnes, manors and inheritances; and with great pains drew up in writing his defence of us, as a perpetual memorial of so important an affair; and for the benefit of posterity, (should they want it) gave it to this church.

As for the many benefices in his own-patronage, he freely gave them to worthy men, being wont to say in his law-language, *That he would have Church-livings pass by Livery and Seisin, not Bargain and Sale.*

He was our English *Trebonianus*, very famous for his comments on Littleton and our common-law, 1628. A parliament was call'd, and the court-party was jealous of sir Edward's activity against them, as who had not *digested* his discontentments as he had done the law. Here-upon to prevent his election as a member, he was confined to Buckinghamshire as a sheriff.

He scrupled to take the oath, pretending many things against it, and particularly that the sheriff is bound thereby to prosecute *Lollards*, wherein the best christians may be included.

It was answered; *That he had often seen the oath given to others without any regret, and knew full well, that Lollard, in the modern sense, im-*
ported

James I reported the opposers of the present Religion, as established by law in the Land.

No excuses would serve his turn, but he must undertake that office: however his friends beheld it as an injurious degradation of him, who had been lord chief-justice, to attend on the judges at the assizes.

Five sorts of people he used to fore-design to misery and poverty; chymists, monopolizers, concealers, promoters, and rhyming-poets. For three things he would give God solemn thanks; That he never gave his body to physick, nor his heart to cruelty, nor his hand to corruption. In three things he did much applaud his own success; in his fair fortune with his wife, in his happy study of the laws, and in his free coming by all his offices * *nec prece, nec pretio*, neither begging nor bribing for preferment.

His parts were admirable: he had a deep judgment, faithful memory, active fancy, and the jewel of his mind was put into a fair case, a beautiful body with a comely countenance: a case, which he did wipe and keep clean, delighting in good cloaths, well worn, and being wont to say, *That the outward neatness of our bodies, might be a Monitor of purity to our souls.*

In his pleadings, discourse and judgements, he declined all circumlocutions, usually saying, *The matter lies in a little Room* †. In all places, callings, and jurisdictions, he commended modesty and sobriety within their boundaries, saying,

† Though some observe that his digressions marred his reputation, and had broke his neck, had he lived in any king's reign but king James's.

ing, *If a River swelleth beyond the banks, it loseth its own Channel.* James I

If any adverse party crossed him, he would patiently reply, *If another punisheth me, I will not punish my self.* In the highest term of business he made vacation to himself at his table, and would never be perswaded privately to retract what he had publickly adjudged, professing *He was a Judge in a Court, not in a Chamber.* He was wont to say, *No wise man would do that in prosperity, whereof he would repent in adversity.* His motto was, *Prudens qui Patiens* ;* and his practice was accordingly, especially after he fell into the disfavour of king James, when he did *Frui suo Infortunio* †, and improved his loss to his advantage. He triumphed in his own innocence, that he had done nothing illegally ; calling to mind the motto which he gave in his rings when made serjeant, *Lex est tutissima Classis*, The law is the safest helmet. And now he had leisure to peruse what formerly he had written, even thirty books with his own hand, most pleasing himself with a manual, which he called *VADE MECUM*, from whence at one view he took a prospect of his life past, having noted therein most remarkables. His most learned and laborious works on the laws will last to be admired by the judicious posterity, whilest fame hath a trumpet left her, and any breath to blow therein. His judgement lately passed for an oracle in law ; and since the credit thereof hath causelessly been questioned, the wonder is not great. If the prophet himself, living in an incredulous age, found cause to complain, *Who*

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I

hath

* He is prudent who is patient. † Enjoy his own misfortune.

James I *hath believed our report?* it need not seem strange that our licentious times have afforded some to shake the authenticity of the reports of any earthly judge.

He constantly had prayers said in his own house, and charitably relieved the poor with his constant almes. The foundation of Sutton's hospital (when indeed but a foundation) had been ruined before it was raised, and crush'd by some courtiers in the hatching thereof, had not his great care preserved the same. The free-school at Thetford was supported in its being, by his assistance; and he founded a school on his cost at Godrick in Norfolk.

It must not be forgotten, that doctor Whitgift afterward arch-bishop of Canterbury, sent unto his pupil, when the queen's attorney, a fair new testament, with this message: *He had long enough studied Common Law, now let him study the Law of God.*

When he was under a cloud at court, and outed of his judge's place, the lands belonging to the church of Norwich, which formerly he had so industriously recovered and settled thereon, were again called into question, being begged by a peer. Sir Edward desired him to desist, telling him, that otherwise he would put on his gown and cap, and come into Westminster-hall once again, and plead there in any court in justification of what he had done. He died at Stoke-Poges in Buckinghamshire, on Wednesday the third of September, being the 83 of age, whose last words were these, *Thy Kingdom come, thy Will be done.*

The

The infirmities of this judge, as my lord James I BACON recited them in a letter to him, were  these :

1. That he delighted to speak more than hear.

2. That he would run out of his profession ; and as he observed of divines, so it was observed of him, none erred worse out of his element.

3. That he conversed with books rather than men, and only with such men that he spake to as scholars, rather than treated as friends.

4. That he obtruded those things as novelties that were stale.

5. That he would jest on men in place, and insult on men in misery.

6. That he made the law lean too much to his opinion.

7. That his tenants in Norfolk were hardly used ; and that though he had ten thousand pounds *per an.* he relieved not the poor.

8. That in his last proceedings against Somerset, he was too open and dilatory, giving too much advantage, and breaking out to some unadvised expressions.

9. That he stood out against power ; for which, and other failures, he was dismissed the council-board with this expression from king James, *That he was the fittest instrument to serve a Tyrant.*

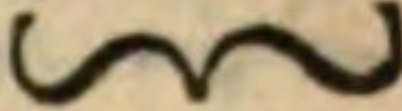
Indeed he had some projects for the revenue, and looked for the treasury, when he was absolutely cast off ; though he made such shift, that throw him where you would (as king James said) he fell upon his legs.

*Observations on the Life of Sir
Ralph Winwood.*

Lloyd.

SIR Ralph Winwood was a gentleman well seen in most affairs, but most expert in matters of trade and war; for he was first a soldier, and then an agent in the Netherlands, where he remonstrated against Vorstius learnedly and resolutely, representing as well his masters parts as his power: It was the very guise at that time to be learned; the wits of it were so excellent, the helps and assistants of it were so great; printing was so common; the world (by navigation) so open; great experiments so disclosed; the leisure of men so much, the age was so peaceable; and his majesty, after whom all writ, so knowing.

When the earl of Somerset was made chamberlain by his majesty in his fathers place, Sir Ralph Winwood was by the queen made secretary in his; succeeding him in his office, but exceeding him in his success (*Fortune may begin any man's greatness, but vertue must continue it*) for this favourite taking upon him to over-rule Winwood, Winwood makes it his business to overthrow him; to which purpose his agents discover some secrets abroad (you may understand more of England at Amsterdam, than at London) and he useth his arts at home; for Mr. Villiers being now brought to court, when others were for raising him

him by interest, Sir Ralph was for advancing James I him with compliance—a compliance, as he said,  that must either supple or break his adversaries, and either way ruine them. — Accordingly Sir George is directed to offer his service to the earl of Somerset; that earl fatally tells him, *He would have none of his service, but would break his design.*—These words coming so cross to the king's inclination, and the court's plot, provoked all persons to look further into Sir Ralph Winwood's intelligence concerning Sir Thomas Overbury's death. Now “mens weakneses and faults are
 “ best known by their enemies, their virtues and
 “ abilities from their friends; their customes
 “ and times from their servants;” their conceits and opinions from their familiars, to whom they are least masked. To all these he applyeth himself, until he hath discovered as much of the practices concerning Overbury, as might humble the earl; and as much corruption in the conveyance of publick money to the building of Audley-End, as might displace his father. An apothecary's boy gives the first, and a servant that carried the money, the second, both whom he surprized with the Spanish proverb; *Di mentura, y sacaras verdad: Tell a lye, and find a truth.* Indeed the natures and dispositions, the conditions and necessities, the factions and combinations, the animosities and discontents; the ends and designs of most people were clear and transparent to this watchful man's intelligence and observation, who could do more with King James by working on his fear, than others by gratifying his pleasure.

James I

When I observe how close and silent he was at the council-table, it puts me in mind of the man that gave this reason why he was silent in a treaty and conference: *Because (said he) the enemy might know, that as there are many here that can speak, so here is one that can hold his peace.*

*Observations on the Life of Sir
Francis Bacon.*

Lloyd.

SIR Francis was born where we are made men, bred where we are made states men; being equally happy in the quickness of the city, and politeness of the court: He had a large mind from his father, and great abilities from his mother; his parts improved more than his years: his great, fixed, and methodical memory, his solid judgment, his quick fancy, his ready expression, gave high assurance of that profound and universal knowledge and comprehension of things which then rendered him the observation of great and wise men, and afterwards the wonder of all. The great queen was as much taken with his witty discourses when a school-boy, as with his grave oracles when her counsel learned. He was a courtier from his cradle to his grave, sucking in experience with his milk, being inured to policy as early as to his grammar: Royal maxims were his *sententiae pueriles*; and he never saw any thing that was not noble and becoming. The queen called him her young Lord Keeper, for his grave ingenuity at seven years of age; and he could tell her majesty

majesty *he was two years * younger than her happy* James I
reign. At twelve, his industry was above the capacity, and his mind above the reach of his contemporaries : A prodigy of parts he must be, who was begot by wife Sir Nicholas Bacon, born of the accomplished Mrs. Ann Cook, daughter to Sir Anthony Cook, king Edward the 6ths tutor, a good grecian and latinist, and bred at *Trinity-College*, under the wife, learned, and pious Dr. Whitgift. His strong observations at court, his steady course of study in the university, must be improved for state-business, by a well-contrived travel abroad : Where his conversation was so obliging, his way so inquisitive, his prudence so eminent, that he was Sir Amie Paulet's Agent between the juncto of France and the queen of England : He allayed the solidity of England with the Ayre of France, until his own affairs and the kingdoms service called him home at his fathers death to enjoy a younger brothers estate, and act his part : Policy was his business, the Law was onely his livelihood ; yet he was so great a states-man, that you would think he only studied men : so great a scholar, that you would say, he only studied books. Such insight he had in the law, that he was at thirty her majesties advocate, and extraordinary counsel ; such his judgment, that he was the student of Grayes-Inn's oracle ; being well seen in the grounds and mysteries of the law, tho' not experienced in the cases of the common law, while he made that profession his accessary, and not his principal : so generous and affable his disposition

* He was born Jan. 22, 1560. at York-house in the Strand.

James I position, that he was all mens love and wonder: He instilled wholesome precepts of prudence and honour to noblemen, (particularly the earl of Essex, to whom he was more faithful, than he to himself:) Great principles of arts and sciences to the learned; noble maxims of government to princes, excellent rules of life to the populacy. When his great patron Essex sunk, he was buoyed up by his own steadiness, and native worth, that admitted him to the queen's own presence, not only to deliver matter of law, which was his profession, but to debate matters of state, which was his element: His judgment was so eminent, that he could satisfy the greatest; his condescension so humble, that he instructed the meanest: His extraordinary parts, above the model of the age, were feared in queen Elizabeth's time, but employed in king James's. Favour he had in her reign, but trust only in his. It's dangerous in a factious age to have my Lord Bacon's parts, or my lord of Essex his favour. Exact was his correspondence abroad and at home; constant his letters, frequent his visits, great his obligations, moderate and temperate his inclination; peaceable, humble and submissive his mind; complying and yielding, his temper: In queen Elizabeth's time, when he could not rise by the publick way of service, he did it by that more private of marriage, with one Alice Barneham, an alderman's heiress, and other commendable improvements, whereby he shewed a great soul could be rich in spite of fortune, (for his father dying while he was in France before he had purchased an estate, he designed for

for him his youngest son and darling, he had but James I a portion of the money divided among five brethren, whereby he was in streights till Gorum-bury fell to him by his dearest brother Mr. Anthony Bacon's death, a gentleman of his parts, though not his learning, having nothing either of honour or profit from that queen, but a reversion of the register of the star-chambers place, worth 1500 l. a year, which he stayed for 20 years, saying that it was like another mans ground, buttalling upon his house; which might mend his prospect, but it did not fill his barn) though it scorned it in point of honour. In the house of commons none more popular, (where he was allowed to sit as member, when attorney, which is allowed none in that place) none more zealous, none so knowing a patriot: In the house of lords, none more successfully serviceable to the crown; the easie way of subsidies was his design in Queen Elizabeth's time; the union with Scotland was his contrivance in King James's.

His make and port was stately, his speech flowing and grave, each word of his falling in its place; the issue of great reason when conceived, and of great prudence when expressed: So great skill he had in observing and contriving of occasions and opportunities, in suiting of humours, and hitting of junctures and flexures of affairs, that he was in his time the master of speech and action, carrying all before him.

The earl of Salisbury saith, Sir Walter Raleigh, was a good orator, but a bad writer; the earl of Northampton was a good writer, but a
bad

James I bad orator ; Sir Francis Bacon excelled in both :
Much he said he owed to his books, more to his innate principles and notions : When he thought he said, he aimed more at connexion than variety : When he spake, he designed rather the life and vigour of expression, and perspicuity of words, (asking often if the meaning were expressed plainly enough) than the elegancy or order of phrase. His axiome was ; words should wait on things, rather than things on words ; and his resolution was, *That all affected elegance was below the gravity and majesty of a publick discourse* : He rather judged books and men, than either read or talked with them.

His exercises were man-like and healthful, walking and riding ; his meditations cohærent, every minute of his time improved ; his table temperate and learned, where his great discourses were the entertainment, and he himself the treat ; resolving cases most satisfactorily, it was observed that he would express another mans words with great advantage, speaking with liberty and respect to all hearers, amend much the phrase of it though retaining the substance, stating questions most exactly, relating histories most prudently, opening great secrets most clearly, answering arguments and replying most familiarly, and speaking what he had thoroughly weighed and considered most effectually. — All matters and speeches came from him with advantage ; so acute and ready his wit, so faithful his memory, so penetrating his judgment, so searching his head, so large and rational his soul. He drew out of every man he spake with, what he was best for.

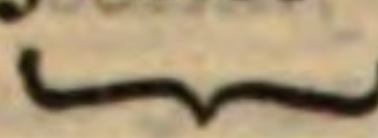
My Lord of Salisbury said, he had the clear-
est prospect of things of any man in his age; and James I
King James, by whom he was never reprov'd
in eighteen years, said, *That he knew the method of
handling matters, after a mild and gentle manner:*
Not engaging his master in any rash or grievous
courses, insulting over no offender, but carrying
it decently and compassionately to the person of
the offender, when most severe against the of-
fence. His religion was rational and sober, his
spirit publick, his love to relations tender, to
friends faithful; to the hopeful liberal, to men
universal, to his very enemies civil. He left the
best pattern of government in his actions under
one king, and the best principles of it in the life
of the other. His essays and history made him
the admiration of polite Italy; his accomplish-
ments, the wonder of France; Monsieur Fiat,
the French Ambassador, who called him father,
saying to him, after an earnest desire to see him,
*That he was an Angel to him, of whom he had
heard much, but never saw him.* Solid, less diffi-
pable and juicy meat was his diet, and rhubarb
infused in wine before meat his physick: Four
hours in the morning he made his own, not by
any means to be interrupted: Business was his
fate, retirement his inclination. Socrates brought
morality from discourse to practice; and my lord
Bacon brought philosophy from speculation to
experience. Aristotle whom he disliked at 16
years of age, not for his person, for he valued
him highly; but his way which bred disputa-
tions, but not useful things for the benefit of the
life of man, continuing in that judgment to
his

James I his dying day, he said, taught many to dispute, more to wrangle, few to find out truth, none to manage it according to his principles:— My Lord Bacon was a man singular in every faculty, and eminent in all: His judgment was solid, yet his memory was a wonder; his wit was quick, yet his reason staid; his invention was happy, yet methodical: And one fault he had, that he was above the age he lived in; above it in his bounties to such as brought him presents (so remembering that he had been lord chancellor, that he forgot he was but Lord Verulam: Great his understanding, his knowledge was not from books, though he read much; but from grounds and notions in himself, which he vented with great caution; Dr. Rawley attesting that he saw twelve copies of the instauration magna revised and amended year by year till it was published, and great his mind too) above it in his kindness to servants, to whom he had been a better master, if he had been a worse; and more kind, if he had been less indulgent to them. Persons of quality courted his service. For the first of his excesses, King James jeered him in his progress to Newmarket, saying, when he heard he gave ten pounds to one that brought him some fruit, *My lord, my lord, this is the way to beggar's bush.* For the second, he reflected upon himself, when he said to his servants as they rose to him in the hall; *Your rise hath been my fall.* Though indeed he rather trusted to their honesty, than connived at their falshood; for he did impartial justice commonly to both parties, when one servant was in fee with the plaintiff, and the other with the defendant.—

How

How well he understood his own time, his letters, James I and his compliances evidence ; than whom  none higher in spirit, yet none humbler in his addressee [The proudest man is most servile.] How little he valued wealth, appeareth, in that when his servants would take money from his closet, even while he was by, he would laugh, and say, *I poor men, that is their portion.* How well he kenned the art of converse, his essays discover, a piece (as he observed himself) that of all his works was most current, for that they come home to mens business and bosomes. How far skilled in the art of government, the felicities of Queen Elizabeth, written by him in latine, ordered by his last will to be printed so, but publish'd in English in his resuscitatio by his amanuensis Dr. Rawley, his H. 7. war with Spain, holy war, elements of the law, irrefragably demonstrate ; and how well seen in all learning, his natural history, and advancement of learning answerably argue. In a word, how sufficient he was, may be conjectured from this instance, that he had the contrivance of all king James his designs, until the match with Spain ; and that he gave those directions to a great statesman *, which may be his character, and our conclusion. Only be it observed, that though this peerless lord is much admired by Englishmen, yet is he more valued by strangers ; distance, as the historian hath it, diminishing his faults to foreigners, while we behold his perfections abated with his failings, which set him as much

* Vid. Duke of Buckingham's Life.

James much below pity, as his place did once above it;  fir Julius Cæsar (they say) looking upon him as a burden in his family, and the Lord Brook denying him a bottle of small beer. Though in a letter to king James he thanks him for being that master to him that had raised and advanced him six times in office; *i. e.* counsel learned extraordinary, solicitor and attorney-general, lord keeper, and chancellor, knight-lord Verulam, viscount St. Alban's, with 1800*l.* a year out of the broad seal, and alienation office to his dying day, most of which he allowed to his * wife, towards whom he was very bountiful in gifts, bestowing on her a robe of honour which she wore while she lived, which was above twenty years after his death. His religion was like a philosophers, rational and well grounded, as appears by his confession of faith, composed many years before his death, an instance of the truth of his own observation; that a little philosophy maketh man apt to forget God, as attributing too much to second causes; but depth of philosophy bringing a man back again to God; he being constant at the publick prayers, frequent at the sermons and sacraments of the church of England, in whose communion he dyed of a gentle feaver, accompanied with a choaking defluxion and cold, April 9, being Easter-day, 1626, 66th year of his age, in the earl of Arundel's house at Highgate near London, being buried according to his will at St. Michael's church, in St. Alban's, the only church in old Verulam,

* Benedict Barneham, an Alderman of London's Daughter and Co-heir.

Verulam, near his mother under a white marble, James I set up sir Tho. Meauty, Secretary to his lordship, and clerk of the council to king James and king Charles, whereon he is drawn in his full stature studying; with an inscription by sir Henry Wotton. He had one peculiar temper of body, that he fainted alwayes at an eclipse of the moon, though he knew not of it, and considered it not. His receipt for the gout which eased him in two hours, is at the end of his Natural History. His Rhubarb-draught before meat he liked, because it carryed away the gross humours, not lessening the spirits as sweating doth.

It was the great effect of his religion, that as he said, (notwithstanding the opportunities he had to be revenged) he neither bred nor fed malice, saying no worse to the king (who enquired of him what he thought of a great man newly dead, that had not been his friend) than that he would never have made his majesties estate better, but he was sure he would have kept it from being worse.

And it was the consequence of his great worth, all men applauded him. Fulk, lord Brook, after the perusal of his *H. 7th.* returned it him with these words: *Commend me to my Lord, and bid him take care to get good Paper and Ink, for the work is Incomparable.* Dr. Collins the king's professor of divinity at Cambridge, said, when he had read his *Advancement of Learning*, that he found himself in a case to begin his studies again; as having lost all his former time.

Forreigners crossing the seas to see him here, and carrying his picture at length that he might be

James I be seen abroad. An Italian writes to the lord Cavendish, since earl of Devonshire, thus concerning the lord Bacon; *I will expect the new essays of my lord Chancellor Bacon, as also his history, with a great deal of desire; and whatsoever else he shall compose; but in particular of his history; I promise my self a thing perfect and singular; especially King Henry the 7th. where he may exercise the talent of his Divine understanding.*

This lord is more and more known; and his books here, more and more delighted in; and those men that have more than ordinary knowledge in humane affairs, esteem him one of the most capable spirits of this age.

Observations on the Life of the Lord John Digby.

Lloyd.

JOHN lord Digby of Sherborn, and earl of Bristol, was a younger son of an ancient family, long flourishing at Koleshull. To pass by his younger years, (all children being alike in their coates) when he had only an annuity of fifty pounds *per annum*, only his youth gave pregnant hopes of that eminency, which his mature age did produce. He did ken the embassador's craft, as well as any in his age, employed by king James in several services to foreign princes, recited in his patent, as the main motives

motives of the honours conferred upon him. James I
 But his managing the matchless match with Spain was his master-piece, wherein a good (I mean a great) number of state-traverfes were used on both fides: where if he dealt in *Generalities*, and did not prefs *Particulars*, we may ghefs the reason of it from that expreffion of his; *I will take care to have my Instructions perfect, and will purfue them punctually*: if he held affairs in fufpence, that it might not come to a war on our part, it may be he did fo with more regard to his Mr. king James his inclination, than his own apprehenfion: if he faid; *That howfoever the business went, he would make his fortune thereby*, it rather argued his weaknefs that he faid fo, his fufficiency that he could do fo, than his unfaithfulnefs that he did fo. This is certain, that he chofe rather to come home, and fuffer the utmoft difpleafure of the king of England, than ftay in Spain, and enjoy the higheft favour of the king of Spain. He did indeed intercede for fome indulgence to the papifts; but it was, becaufe otherwife he could do no good for the proteftants.—But whatever was at the bottom of his actions, there was *refolution* and *noblenefs* atop, efpecially in thefe actions. 1. Being carried from village to village after the king of Spain, without that regard due to his perfon, or place; he expreffed himfelf fo generously, that the Spanifh courtiers trembled; and the king declared, *That he would not interrupt his Pleafures with business at Lerma*, for any embaffador in the world but the Englifh; nor for any Englifh embaffador but Don Juan. 2. When impure Scioppius upon his libel againft king

Char. 1. James and sir Humphrey Bennet's complaint
 to the arch-duke against him, fled to Madrid; my lord observing that it was impossible to have justice done against him from the catholique king because of the jesuits, puts his cousin Geo. Digby upon cutting him; which he did over his nose and mouth wherewith he offended, so that he carried the mark of his blasphemy to his grave. 3. When he was extraordinary embassador in Germany, upon his return by Heidelbergh, observing that count Mansfield's army, upon whom depended the fortune of the Palgrave, was like to disband for want of money, he pawned all his Plate and jewels to buoy up that sinking cause for that time. That his spirit was thus great abroad, was his honour; but that it was too great at home, was his unhappiness: for he engaged in a fatal contrast with the duke of Buckingham, that hazarded both their safeties, had not this lord feared the duke's power, (as the duke this lord's policy) and so at last it became a drawn battle betwixt them; yet so, that this earl lost the love of king Charles, living many years in his disfavour: but such as are in a court-cloud, have commonly the countrey's sun-shine; and this peer during his eclipse, was very popular with most of the nation. It is seldom seen, if a favourite once broken at court, sets up again for himself; the hap (rather than happiness) of this lord, the king graciously reflecting on him at the beginning of the long *Parliament*, as one best able to give him the safest counsel in those dangerous times. But how he incensed the *Parliament* so far, as to be excepted pardon, I neither do
 know

know, nor dare enquire. Sure I am, that after the surrender of Exeter, he went over into France, where he met with that due respect in foreign, which he missed in his native countrey. The worst I wish such, who causelessly suspect him of popish inclinations (saith my author) is, that I may hear from them but half so many strong arguments for the *Protestant Religion*, as I heard from him, who was to his commendation a cordial champion for the church of England. This family hath been much talked of this last forty years; though all that I can say of it is this, that great spirits, large parts, high honours, penned with narrow estates, seldom bless their owners within *moderation*, or the places they live in with *peace*.

*Observations on the Life of
the Lord Spencer.*

HE was the fifth knight of his family, in an immediate succession, well allied and extracted, being descended from the Spencers, earls of Gloucester and Winchester. In the first year of the reign of king James, being a moneyed man, he was created baron of Wormeleiton in the county of Warwick. He had such a ready and quick wit, that once speaking in parliament of the valour of their English ancestors, in defending the liberty of the nation, returned this answer to the earl of Arundel, who

James I said unto him, *Your Ancestors were then keeping of Sheep: If they kept Sheep, yours were then plotting of Treason.* But both of them were at present confined; but to the lord Spencer the upper-house ordered reparations, who was first and causelessly provoked. This lord was also he, who in the first of king James was sent (with sir William Dethick, principal king of arms) to Frederick duke of Wirtenbergh, elected into the order of the Garter, to present and invest him with the robes and ornaments thereof; which were accordingly with great solemnity performed in the cathedral of Studgard.—And this was the lord, that when the earl of Bristol charged the duke of Buckingham, started up, and demanded; *Is this all you have to say against the Duke?* The earl replied, *Yes, my Lord, and I am sorry it is so much.* Then quoth the lord Spencer, *If this be all, Ridiculus mus;* and so sat down again.

The End of the Observations upon the Lives of the Statesmen and Favourites of *England*, in the Reign of King *James*.

THE

THE
STATES - MEN
AND
FAVOURITES
OF
ENGLAND,
IN

The Reign of King CHARLES I.

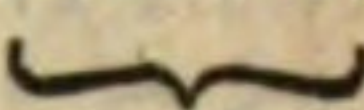
Observations on the Life of
King CHARLES I.

IT is no easy thing to give a just and ex-Rapin.
act character of Charles I, amidst the ex-
cessive commendations bestowed on him by some,
and the calumnies wherewith others have endea-
voured to blacken his reputation. If the par-
ties born in his reign, had died with him (says
Rapin) we might find in the histories of that
time, composed after the troubles were over, an
impartiality which might help to form a true
judgment of this prince's character. But the
K 3 same

Char. I. same parties continuing in the following reigns, with a mutual animosity, it may be said, there is not an impartial English historian upon this subject. Some had no other view than to vindicate the king, and others, whose aim was to justify the parliament, could not do it without loading the king, and rendering him odious. We must therefore proceed with the utmost caution when we are in search of this prince's character, for fear of being misled, and drawn into error by the different representations given their readers by the historians. Notwithstanding these difficulties, I shall briefly speak my thoughts, free from all party passion and prejudice.

I do not find, the commendations bestowed on Charles I, with regard to sobriety, temperance, and chastity, were ever contested. All agree likewise, that he was a good husband, a good father, and a good master. But some accuse him, and perhaps not unjustly, of suffering his queen to have too great an influence over him, and too large a share of state-affairs. The kingdom being protestant, and the queen a very zealous catholick, her power, which she greatly abused, in causing the most important offices to be conferred on papists, must have been looked upon with a jealous eye. This was the chief ground of the opinion spread about the kingdom, that the court intended to restore the catholick religion in England.

T. III.
P. 197. *He was so great a lover of justice, that no temptation could dispose him to a wrongful action, except it was so disguised to him, that he believed it to be just.* These are the lord Clarendon's own words, which may be very true, if applied to the

the concerns of particular persons. But besides Char. I. the justice which the king ought to administer  impartially to private persons, there is another kind of justice due from him, to all his people in general. With respect to this last, it may justly be doubted, that the lord Clarendon's encomium is inconsistent with the project of altering the constitution, and assuming a power, which certainly was illegal. Nay, I do not believe, that this was one of the things disguised to him, and I should rather think it was by him, that his ministers and courtiers framed their conduct, and adapted their notions to his, in order to make their court, and advance their fortune.

Never was king perhaps so punctual and regular in his devotions both publick and private. This was of some use to him, to repel the charge of his not being well-affected to the protestant religion, and he knew how to improve it on occasion.

He abhorred all debauchery, and could not endure an obscene or prophane word. His court was very different from his father's, where oaths, prophane jests, and obscene discourse were but too much in vogue. It is hard to conceive, how the duke of Buckingham, who was used to king James's ways, could accommodate himself to the gravity and severity of Charles I, or how king Charles could adapt himself to the duke of Buckingham's manners.

James I, was lavish, and his son Charles inclined towards avarice, but this failing may be excused by the consideration, that he never a-
bounded

Char. 1. bounded with money, from the beginning to the
end of his reign.

His enemies would represent him as a cruel and bloody prince; but as they have not been able to reproach him with any particular action denoting such a disposition, it is easy to perceive, this charge is founded on the supposition of his having been author of a war wherein so much blood was spilt.

Sincerity as appears in his history, was not his favourite virtue. He made frequent use of mental reservations, concealed in ambiguous terms, and general expressions, of which he reserved the explication at a proper time and place. For this reason, the parliament could never confide in his promises, wherein there was always either some ambiguous term, or some restriction that rendered them useless. This may be said to be one of the principal causes of his ruin, because giving thereby occasion of distrust, it was not possible to find any expedient for a peace with the parliament. He was thought to act with so little sincerity in his engagements, that it was believed there was no dependence on his word. The parliament could not even resolve to debate on the king's propositions, so convinced were they of his ability to hide his real intentions under ambiguous expressions. But they sent their own propositions to the king, with the liberty only of saying *Content*, or not *Content*, so apprehensive were they of his explications. But as I may be accused of loading the king too much upon the point of sincerity, I think it incumbent on me, to justify what I have said, by an unexceptionable

tionabel evidence. I mean the earl of Claren-Char. I.
don. 

A Law enacted by violence and force, says that illustrious Historian, is not rightfully enacted, was one of those positions of Aristotle, which hath never been since contradicted, and was an advantage, that being well managed, and stoutly insisted upon, would, in spite of all their machinations have brought his Majesty's enemies to a temper of being treated with. But I have some cause to believe, that even this argument which was unanswerable for the rejecting the bill [for taking away the bishop's votes.] was applied for the confirming it; and an opinion, that the violence and force used in procuring it, rendered it absolutely invalid and void, made the confirmation of it less considered, as not being of strength to make that act good, which was in itself null. And I doubt this logick had an influence upon other acts of no less moment than these.

Claren-
don, III.
p. 335.

Let the reader judge after this, if we may boast of king Charles's sincerity, since even in passing acts of parliament, which is the most authentick and solemn promise a king of England can make, he gave his assent, meerly in an opinion, that they were void in themselves, and consequently he was not bound by this engagement. I pass over in silence the manifest breach of the petition of right, perhaps upon the same principle, and of his many assurances to his parliament of his intention to maintain their privileges, which he violated within a few days, because these things have been sufficiently spoken of in the history of his reign.

Some

Char. I. Some accuse him of an inclination for the Roman catholick religion, nay, there are who carry this charge so far as to say, he intended to restore it in England. These imputations are groundless. But it cannot be denied, that he gave occasion for them by his conduct, though contrary to his intention. During the first fifteen years of his reign, the Roman catholicks were not only screened from the rigour of the law, but even encouraged and countenanced to such a degree, that he made them privy-counsellors, secretaries of state, and lords-lieutenants of counties. Two things induced him to this condescension. The first, the queen's importunities, who was extremely zealous for her religion. The second, his project to render himself absolute, for the execution of which, he believed the assistance of the catholicks, as well English as foreigners, to be necessary. But I will not affirm, that the queen, and some of the ministry had not formed with regard to religion, more extensive projects, which they did not think proper to impart to the king. The assistance of the catholicks, whom the king had managed for another occasion, became necessary for his own defence, after his breach with the parliament. How unwilling soever he seemed to receive any aid from the papists, it is certain, many were entertained in his service, and that he was privately assisted by the catholicks on sundry important occasions.

Though it cannot be proved that he excited the Irish rebellion, it may however be affirmed, it was not against him that the Irish took arms, since they never had less cause to complain, than
in

in this and the later reign. Besides, the papists, both Char. I. Irish and English, always looked upon this prince as their protector, and were ever ready to assist him. Had he succeeded in his designs, very likely, the condition of the catholicks in England and Ireland, would have been much more happy, and the penal laws in great measure repealed. But it does not follow, that the king himself had any inclination to popery, or intended to establish the Romish religion. In short, that he was a sincere member of the church of England, can hardly be doubted, since he affirmed it on the scaffold, at a time when it could be of no service to him to dissemble his belief.

Many people give him the surname of *Martyr*, pretending he suffered death in maintainance of the truth of the protestant religion, against the presbyterians and independents, and call the day of his death, which is solemnized yearly on the 30th of January, the day of his martyrdom. But in the first place, there was too great a complication of causes which brought him to this tragical end, to ascribe his death solely to religion. 2. Though it were true that religion was the sole cause of his death, it would not be universally agreed that he died for defending the truth of the protestant religion, since, among protestants, the English alone, or rather a great part of the English, hold episcopacy to be a doctrine of Faith. 3. Though dying for episcopacy were really martyrdom, the king in his last proposals at Newport, agreed to reduce episcopacy to a very small matter. 4. Had he been condemned by the presbyterians, he might in some

Char. I. some measure be said to suffer for episcopacy.  But it is evident the presbyterians had no share in this sentence, nor ever thought of bringing him to a tryal. The independents were the men that condemned and executed him, and surely, it was not on any religious account, but to turn the monarchy into a republick. 5. If the scrivener's evidence be true, king Charles cannot be said to suffer death for supporting religion against the independents, since, according to the deposition, he offered to grant them all the freedom they should desire, if they would but take his part. However this be, the church of England having recovered, in the reign of Charles II, the advantage she had lost in that of Charles I, appointed the day of his death to be kept every year, with fasting and humiliation, which hath caused some to give him the glorious title of martyr.

To conclude, Charles I, was endued with many virtues, and noble qualities. There is even room to believe, that his failings flowed entirely from his design to enslave England, and if, on some occasions, he followed not exactly the rules of sincerity, it was only the more easily to execute what he had undertaken. Without this unfortunate project, he might be reckoned one of the most accomplished princes that has ever been on the English throne. The duke of Buckingham, the earl of Strafford, archbishop Laud, and the queen herself used to a very different government from that of England, were the persons that ruined this unhappy prince, whom they so passionately desired to raise higher than his predecessors. But who can forbear making

making a very natural reflection on this subject? Char. I.
I mean, upon the punishment of those evil coun-
fellors, and of the king himself. The duke of
Buckingham lost his life by the hands of an
assassin; Laud, Strafford, and the king himself
died on the scaffold, and the queen spent the
residue of her days in a melancholly widowhood,
being even slighted by her nearest relations. She
lived however long enough to see the prince her
son's restoration; but found not with him, all
the satisfaction she expected, which doubtless was
the cause of her return to France, where she
died in the year 1669.

Observations on the Descent and Character of Oliver Cromwell.

CROMWELL's family was originally of ^{Rapin.}
Glamorganshire in Wales, and called ^{Life of}
Williams, one of which marrying a sister of ^{Crom-}
Cromwell vicar-general in the reign of Henry ^{well. Ap-}
VIII, assumed the name of Cromwell, and trans- ^{pendix, p.}
mitted it to his posterity. Oliver Cromwell was ^{427. Bates}
born at Huntington, April 25, 1599. His e-
ducation had nothing extraordinary, nor is it
known how he spent his time before he arrived
at the age of thirty-five years, when he began
seriously to reform his manners and lead a very
regular life, without indulging himself in any
indecent or ill action. Probably, he then, if
not sooner, engaged in the presbyterian party.
The

Char. I. The reputation he had acquired of an honest man and good christian, and doubtless his principles concerning the government, were the cause of his being returned for the town of Cambridge, to the parliament which met the 3d of November 1640. He sat two years without being distinguished, not having a genius for speaking to place him upon a level with some of the members of that parliament. His delivery was ungraceful, and his speeches prolix and confused. It was probably, in these two years that he was gained by the independents, and lifted in their party, though concealed under the name of rigid presbyterians. Agreeably to the views and interests of that party, Cromwell affected an extraordinary zeal for Presbyterianism, and the liberty of the nation against the usurpations of the court, in which he followed the directions of the then leading members of the house. So, when the civil war began in 1642, he had a post in the army, as a man entirely devoted to the house of commons, of which he was a member. He was at first a major of horse, and though he was two and forty years of age before he had drawn a sword, he was so distinguished by his valour in that office, that he had soon after a regiment given him. There was not in the army an officer that faced danger with more intrepidity, or that more ardently sought occasions to signalize himself. His reputation increased to such a degree, that he became major-general, then lieutenant-general under Fairfax, and at last his successor. His great talents for war gave him occasion to show that he had no less genius for civil affairs. He entered into the deepest

War-
wick's
Mem.
p. 247.

deepest designs of his party, and at last, became Char. I. one of the principal leaders, advancing here with the same rapidity as in the army. It was he, who accusing the earl of Manchester of not having done his duty in the second battle of Newbury, broke the ice, and gave occasion to the new model of the army, which was the first step to the triumph of the independents. From that time, he was looked upon as the chief of the independent party, and properly as general of the army, Fairfax acting only as directed by Cromwell. I shall no farther insist upon what has been related at large, (says Rapin) but only observe, that the troops believed themselves invincible under his command, and that he was never once forced to turn his back. The victory gained over prince Rupert at Marston-Moor, was chiefly ascribed to his valour. The reduction of Ireland, in less than a year, greatly increased his fame, and the battles of Dunbar, and Worcester carried it to the highest degree.

Let us now view him in his government after he was protector. If his government be compared with those of the two last kings, there will appear a very great disparity with regard to the glory and reputation of the English nation. James I. and Charles I. seemed to have studied to disgrace the English name, whereas Cromwell in the space of four or five years carried the glory of his nation as far as possible, and in that respect was not inferior to Elizabeth. He made himself equally dreaded by France, and Spain, and the united provinces. These three states courted his alliance and friendship with such ardor

Burnet's
Hist. p.
81.

Char. I dor, that they may be said to cringe to him beyond what was becoming.

Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden, thought himself honoured in being his ally and particular friend. His greatest enemies cannot help praising him on this account.

Welwood As for his morals and conduct, as a private person, they may be said to have been very regular. He was guilty of none of the vices to which men are commonly addicted. Gluttony, drunkenness, gaming, luxury, avarice, were vices with which he was never reproached. On the contrary, it is certain, he promoted virtuous men; as, on the other hand, he was inflexible in his punishments of vice and ill actions. It is true, his own preservation obliged him sometimes to employ men of ill principles, but this is not uncommon to those, who are at the head of a government.

Though, as to his religion, he was an independent, his principle was to leave every man at liberty in the religion he had chosen, and never persecuted any person on that account. He even connived at the private meetings of those who remained attached to the church of England, though he was well informed of them. If they were not favoured with the free and publick exercise of their religion, it was because they were considered by him as royalists, always ready to form plots in the king's favour, and from whom, consequently, he had great reason to secure himself. Though he was in the sentiments of the independents, and therefore averse to all union with the national church, he however considered all protestant churches, as part of the protestant

testant church in general ; and without aiming Char. i.
to establish independency and fanaticism by force
and violence, he expressed on all occasions, an
extreme zeal for the protestant religion. Dr. p. 77.

Burnet, in the history of his own time, says,
that if Cromwell had accepted the title of king,
he intended to establish a council, in imitation
of the congregation *de propaganda fide* at Rome,
to have an eye to what passed all over the world,
with regard to the interests of the protestant re-
ligion. He adds, that a fund was to have been
settled upon this council, of ten thousand pounds
a year, for ordinary emergencies, besides a sa-
lary of five hundred pounds a-piece to four se-
cretaries.

It may also be added, to Cromwell's honour,
that never man was better acquainted with the
inward springs of human actions, though he
seemed not to have made it his particular study :
Never man had more address to manage people,
and lead them to his ends, nor more natural
capacity for affairs, which had received no assist-
ance from learning ; for he scarce remembered
the little latin he had brought from school : In Burnet.
a word, never man chose at once his most ad- P. 65.
vantageous course with more judgment, or exe-
cuted a design with more vigour and readiness.
Such, in short, were the virtues and shining
qualities of Cromwell ; but we must not con-
ceal the vices and imperfections with which he is
charged.

This charge turns solely upon three points.
The first, that through a boundless ambition, he
seized a government to which he had no right.
The second, that he maintained himself in his
L post,

Chars. 1st post, by an excessive dissimulation. The third,  that he put to death many of his private enemies, without any regard to laws memorially practised in England. Upon these three articles I shall offer some considerations to the reader, to assist him in forming a just idea of Cromwell's character.

Upon the first, it must be considered, that though the royalist authors traduce Cromwell's memory as much as possible, and though in particular, the action by which he was possessed of the government, is the principal foundation of all their complaints, it is certain, the king was no way interested in the change it produced. It was not Charles II, but a republican parliament, that was deprived of the supreme power by Cromwell. Though he had been subjected to this parliament; though he had miscarried, and himself been ruined by his ambition, the king's affairs would have received no advantage, since the parliament was not less his enemy than Cromwell. Of what therefore do they complain with respect to the king? It must be one of these two things, either that Cromwell was too wise, to suffer himself to be supplanted by all the efforts of the royalists; or that, after seizing the supreme power, he did not restore it to the king, to whom alone it belonged; that is, that Cromwell did not at once turn royalist, and entirely change his principles. But this charge lies no more against Cromwell, than against all the independents and presbyterians, who were at least three parts in four of the kingdom, and who, no more than Cromwell, thought it proper to declare for the king.

As

As for the republicans, they have not left us Chars. i
 many writings on their side. The only memoirs {
 of that party, which I know of, are those of
 Edmund Ludlow. It appears there, that the Ludlow.
 republicans were enraged against Cromwell, and T. II.
 deemed him the most perfidious of men. This Burnet,
 is not very strange, since he had wrested from P. 65.
 that parliament the sovereign power, seized by
 these republicans without any lawful authority.
 But, what was this parliament? It was an as-
 sembly of independents, anabaptists, fanatics,
 enthusiasts, and others of no religion, who, un-
 der colour of establishing a free commonwealth,
 held the nation in servitude; who, to confirm
 their own authority, had treated their fellow-
 members with unheard of violence, and dared
 to embrue their hands in the blood of the late
 king, at a time when he had almost granted
 every thing that was desired; who, in short,
 were industrious to break the union of the church,
 to subvert all religion, or introduce the most ri-
 diculous and extravagant one. Was it therefore
 more eligible for England to be governed by
 these men, than by a Cromwell? If, therefore,
 Cromwell be blameable, it is not for dissolving a
 parliament, which certainly deserved to continue
 no longer, and had strangely abused the power
 they had assumed. But if, after the dissolution
 of that parliament, Cromwell had restored the
 king (for this, in all appearance, is what the roy-
 alists would have) he had drawn upon himself the
 hatred and curses of all England, which, at that
 time, was by no means disposed to such a resto-
 ration, whatever the royalists may say. He
 was therefore to do one of these three things;

Char. I. either to restore the thing, contrary both to his own principles, and to those of the presbyterians and independents ; or to abandon the state to a horrible anarchy, which must have followed, if he left things in the state they were in after the dissolution ; or to take himself the administration of the government, unless he had intrusted it with some other person, which, in respect of the justice of the action, had been the same. Let it now be examined, which was most advantageous for England, considering her circumstances, and whether it was not better, he should himself take the government, than attempt a restoration, in which he could never have succeeded ? since his sole support was the army, which at that time was very opposite to the king, not to mention the opposition he would have met from the republicans and presbyterians. On supposition that he was in the right to dissolve the parliament, was it not also better for him to assume the government, than relinquish the state to a fatal anarchy ? those who pretend, he had long before projected his advancement, speak only by conjecture. They consider not, that he had never been in a condition to form such a design, before the battle of Worcester ; nor that this parliament, which he dissolved, had, in seeking to ruin him, reduced him to a necessity of destroying them, for his own preservation.

But what cannot be justified in his conduct, is, his throwing himself, from the beginning of the parliament, into a violent party, which aimed at the ruin of the church and state ; his directing afterwards that party ; and his being the chief author of the violences put upon the parliament

ment and the king. This, however, is slightly Char. 1. passed over, because it is common to him with the whole independent party; and yet, it is in my opinion, the only thing he can justly be reproached with, and on which it is hardly possible to excuse him.

The second charge against him is, his excessive dissimulation; but here we are to distinguish. If it be true, as is pretended, though without proof, that he carried his dissimulation so far, as to mock God and religion, by expressing a piety and devotion which he had not, and by making long prayers, full of seeming zeal. If it be true, that his mouth uttered what his heart never meant, no man ought to endeavour to vindicate him. But his strong byass to enthusiasm is well known; and who can affirm, it was rather out of hypocrisy than real persuasion? we are not rashly to ascribe to men inward motives, which no mortal can know. His dissimulation practised for the better management of the several parties, all equally his enemies, has nothing that I can see very blameable in it, unless it was a crime, not to leave it in the power of his enemies to destroy him with ease. I shall just mention some of his methods, to maintain himself in his dignity, by which it may be judged, whether Cromwell's dissimulation is to be justly imputed to him as a crime.

The parliament he dissolved, was composed of independents, republicans, enthusiasts, or fifth monarchy-men. If this parliament had continued longer, things would have been carried to the White-lack, p. 560, 681. down the churches, [discharging the tithes,] destroying Burnet, p. 67.

Char. 1. destroying the clergy, and every thing that looked like the union of a national church. The presbyterians, who knew this, were in continual apprehensions of their executing their designs, and consequently, the dissolution of this parliament was considered by them, as a great happiness. Cromwell to gain their confidence, positively promised, he would maintain their ministry on the foot of the present establishment, and kept his word, though he was far from being presbyterian. By this means the presbyterians were attached to his interest, by reason of their dread to fall again under the tyranny of the independents.

Ibid.

Ibid.

In the republican party were two sorts of men, whom it was very difficult to govern. The one were deists, or men very indifferent as to religion, who acted only upon the principles of civil liberty. The others were enthusiasts, who expected every day when Christ should appear to reign upon earth. These were the most difficult to manage, because they would not hear reason, when it contradicted their headstrong and violent zeal. Cromwell's accepting the protectorship, was considered by them as a step to kingship, to which they were such enemies, that they affirmed it to be the great antichrist, that hindered Christ's reign upon earth. Cromwell found means so to divide these two parties, that all combinations betwixt them for his ruin, became impossible. To the deists, he made himself merry with the extravagant zeal of the fanatics; and to these last, he talked of the others as of the heathens and infidels. But as the enthusiasts were the most obstinate, he intimated

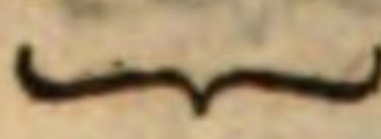
Id. p. 68.

Philips,
p. 631.

to some of them, that he would rather have taken a shepherd's staff than the protectorship, had it not been to prevent every thing from running into confusion: That he would resign this dignity with more joy than he accepted it, as soon as things should be settled: that nothing was more contrary to his inclination, and principles, than a grandeur which obliged him to assume an outward superiority over his fellow labourers. To convince them of what he said, he frequently called them into his closet, and shutting the door, made them sit covered, familiarly talking with them as his equals. Commonly these discourses ended in a long prayer. It is not to be doubted, but there was in this much dissimulation. The question is, whether it was so criminal as it is pretended?

He had likewise chaplains of all sorts, So, Burnet, hinting sometimes to one, sometimes to another, p. 68. that he was not averse to their principles; their report was spread throughout the whole party, and made each hope for an advantageous change,

He took care to have spies amongst all the parties, and was thereby fully informed of what was contriving against his person or government. Among others, he gained sir Richard Willis, Burnet's Hist. p. 65.66.71. chancellor Hyde's agent, for conveying the king's orders to his friends in England. All the royalists confided in Willis, knowing he received the king's orders, and yet he betrayed them. But to keep the correspondence more secret, Cromwell assured him, that the informations from him should only be used to disconcert the plots of his enemies, that none might ever suffer

Char. I. fer for them ; and if he imprisoned any of them,  it should only be for a little time, and on other pretences. By that means, he defeated their designs, as by accident, in committing them to prison for supposed crimes, and releasing them when their measures were broken.

Burnet,
p. 65.

He sometimes intimated a willingness to treat with the king. Probably his aim was to engage the royalists to offer propositions, which would have given him opportunity to amuse them, and prevented any conspiracies against his person ; for he was informed from several parts of designs to assassinate him. Wherefore he affected to speak publickly of assassinations with the utmost detestation, and to declare, he would never begin them, but if an attempt was made upon his life, and miscarried, he should not scruple to use the same method, and that he did not want instruments to execute it, nor money to reward them. This declaration kept the royalists in awe, through a fear of their own danger, or that of the king and royal family.

If this conduct of Cromwell be considered impartially, it will, doubtless, appear, that his dissimulation and artifices for his own preservation, were not so criminal as they have been represented. What has most offended those who speak of them with most passion, is, that they were proper to disconcert the projects of his enemies. The dissimulation of queen Elizabeth, for the same reason, has been extolled, though she used it only for her own preservation.

The third and last charge against Cromwell, is, cruelty, for having, whilst protector, put some men to death, for conspiring against his per-

person and government. That is, according to Char. I. this reproach, he should have patiently suffered the plots against him, and when one failed, liberty should have been given for a second and a third, till some one had succeeded. This deserves no confutation. But to shew, that Cromwell was not for an unnecessary effusion of blood, we need only recite what is owned by the earl of Clarendon in his history, who assures, that when it was proposed in a council of officers that there might be a general massacre of the royalists, Cromwell would never consent to it. Clarendon, III. p. 509.

To finish Cromwell's character, I will add, that in the beginning of the long-parliament, he was a presbyterian. After that, he threw himself into the independent party, and was even one of their leaders, and affected to be of the number of the enthusiasts. But when he had accepted the protectorship, he was neither presbyterian, nor independent, nor republican, nor enthusiast. As he had to manage all these different parties, who were equally opposite to him, he was not to appear an enemy to any in particular, and this management furnishes convincing proofs of his great ability.

It is nevertheless certain, that Cromwell was very much hated, while he lived, by all the parties then in England, though they could not help fearing and esteeming him. But if it be now considered, that the prejudices against him are not so strong as they were then, it will be found that the hatred of him was owing to interest, and founded chiefly upon his ability to disconcert the measures and designs of all the parties. This general hatred is solely referred to his principal action;

Char. 1. action; that is to the usurpation of the government, which equally disgusted the royalists, presbyterians, and republicans. The royalists thereby saw their hopes more desperate than ever of the king's restoration. The presbyterians could hardly expect, by their intrigues, to render themselves once more superior in the parliament, after the dissolution. The republicans were enraged to see the supreme power, which they had assumed, wrested from them. It is therefore no wonder, that he has incurred so much censure, since all the people of England, that is, these three parties, were equally concerned to asperse him. It was not for the enormity of the action, but because by his advancement, each party despaired of acquiring the superiority over the rest. This is what has drawn from many writers, expressions so injurious to his memory. The lord Clarendon speaks thus of him, and his usurpation. *Without doubt no man with more wickedness ever attempted any thing, or brought to pass what he desired more wickedly, more in the face and contempt of religion and moral honesty. Yet wickedness as great as his, could never have accomplished those designs, without the assistance of a great spirit, an admirable circumspection and sagacity, and a most magnanimous resolution. It is easily seen, that this wickedness is referred only to his usurpation of the government. In a word, (continues the same author) as he was guilty of many crimes, against which damnation is denounced, and for which hell-fire is prepared, so he had some good qualities which have caused the memory of some men in all ages to be celebrated, and he will be looked upon by posterity as a brave wicked man.*

Id. p. 506.

p. 509.

man. Here the author, no doubt, has an eye Char. I. to the murder of Charles I. in which Cromwell was too deeply concerned for me to pretend to excuse him. I shall only observe, that this accusation is not peculiar to him, but is common to him, with the whole independent-parliament.

To form a just and rational idea of Cromwell's character, his conduct and actions in themselves, must be examined, and joined to the juncture of the time, independently of the opinions of his enemies. We have no other historians of those times than the royalists, who have laid down certain principles, by which he is condemned. But, it must be observed, these principles were not generally received, in England, during his life. What can never be entirely excused in him, is the death of Charles I, to which he contributed to the utmost of his power, and which will be an indelible blot upon his memory. Another principle, and of which Burnet, he made great use, is likewise to be condemned in him: which was, that moral laws were only binding on ordinary occasions, but might be dispensed with upon extraordinary cases, which is absolutely false. His usurpation of the government has been already considered, and the reader is left to his judgment. I shall only observe, that the confusion which prevailed in England, soon after the death of Cromwell, clearly shews the necessity of this usurpation.

In general it cannot be denied, that Cromwell was one of the greatest men of his age, if it is considered, that without the advantages of birth or fortune, he rose so near a throne, that it was
in

Char. I. in his power to mount it. History furnishes
 very few instances of this kind.

Cromwell's death was followed with so many alterations in the government, that the interval between that and the restoration, may be justly called a time of true anarchy. Cromwell should have had a successor like himself, to finish what he had so ably begun. But two so great men are not commonly found so near one another, nor often in the same age.

Observations on the Life of the Duke of Buckingham.

Lloyd.

NATURE bestowed on him an exact comeliness, his Mother a noble education (not so much to study, as converse:) his travels to France, carriage and experience. “ About which times, he falls into intrinsecal society with sir John Greham, then one of the gentlemen of his majesties privy-chamber; who, I know not upon what luminaries, he espied in his face, dissuaded him from marriage, and gave him rather encouragement to woe *Fortune* at court, than court it in the city: which advice sank well into his fancy, for within some while, the king had taken by certain glances (whereof the first was at Apthorpe in a progress) such liking of his person, that he was resolved to make him a master-piece, and to mould him as it were platonically

“ platonically to his own idea. Neither was Char. I.
 “ his majesty content onely to be the architect
 “ of his fortune, without putting his gracious
 “ hand likewise to some part of the work it self;
 “ infomuch that it pleased him to descend, and
 “ to avale his goodness, even to the giving of
 “ his aforefaid friend fir John Greham secret di-
 “ rections, how, by what degrees he should
 “ bring him into favour. His own parts and
 observations gained him prudence and discretion;
 his family and ancestors in Leicester-shire, gen-
 tility and repute; so that there wanted nothing
 but interest to set him up a courtier: fir Thomas
 Compton, who had married his mother, supply-
 ed him with the one, and the earls of Bedford,
 Pembroke, and Hertford, who would eclipse
 Somerset, helped him to the other: for those
 three lords meeting one night at Baynard’s-castle,
 and commanding Somerset’s picture should be
 abused in their way; next day fir Thomas Lake
 leads him into court, buying him the cup-bear-
 er’s place: a while after, the countess of Bed-
 ford ushereth him to the presence-chamber, en-
 tering him a bed-chamber-man,—and the earl of
 Pembroke supports him, until he was a favourite.
 The courtiers wished him well, because he was an
 Englishman; the nobility favoured him, because
 a gentleman; the ladies have a kindness for him,
 because the exactest courtier in Christendom; the
 king observes him much, for his compleat body,
 more for his pregnant parts; and, the states-men
 now consulting Somerset’s removal, and finding
 king James his good nature loth to leave the bo-
 som of one *Minion*, until he had reposed himself
 in another, made it their plot to advance him.
 His

Char. I. His carriage was free and debonair; his passions even and smooth, and one faith, carried in his pocket; his nature noble and open; his temper industrious and inquisitive; his intellectuals clear and capable; his mind tractable and docible; his spirit resolute and undaunted.—The first month he comes to court, he takes place above all his fellows; and being removed with some affront by a creature of Somerset's, gives him a box on the ear; an action that gave him and his friends a seasonable occasion of a contest with Somerset, and him a clear conquest over him: Somerset as chamberlain would have cut off his hand, and he as favourite was like to have cut off his head. This new favourite riseth; all are weary of Somerset the first *Minion*, all welcome the second. The king is first his tutor, and then his patron, instructing him before he employed him. Three sorts of studies he engaged him in: the first was for delights in private retirements; the second for ornament in discourse; the third for ability in business. He had princely apprehensions of the principles and maxims of government, a distinct notion of all his affairs, an excellent way to make use of other men's abilities, and these incomparable rules from my lord Bacon, which were transcribed in his life.

* Sir, in the first place, I shall be bold to put you in mind of the present condition you are in: you are not only a courtier, but a bed-chamberman, and so are in the eye and ear of your master; but you are also a favourite; the favourite of

* Compleat Instructions for a Statesman, given by L. B. to D. B.

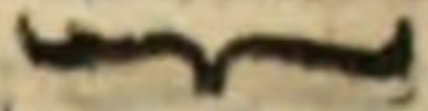
of the time, and so are in his bosom also; the Char. 1.
world hath so voted you, and doth so esteem of you, (for kings and great princes, even the wisest of them, have had their friends, their favourites, their privadoes, in all ages; for they have their affections as well as other men) of these they make several uses: sometimes to communicate and debate their thoughts with them, and to ripen their judgments thereby; sometimes to ease their cares by imparting them; and sometimes to interpose them between themselves and the envy or malice of their people (for kings cannot erre, that must be discharged upon the shoulders of their ministers; and they who are nearest unto them must be content to bear the greatest load.) Truly, sir, I do not believe or suspect that you are chosen to his eminency, out of the last of these considerations; for you serve such a master, who by his wisdom and goodness, is as free from the malice or envy of his subjects, as, I think I may say truly, ever any king was, who hath fate upon his throne before him: but I am confident, his majesty hath cast his eyes upon you, as finding you to be such as you should be, or hoping to make you to be such as he would have you to be; for this I may say without flattery, your outside promiseth as much as can be expected from a gentleman. But be it in the one respect, or other, it belongeth to you to take care of your self, and to know well what the name of a favourite signifies: If you be chosen upon the former respects, you have reason to take care of your actions and deportment, out of your gratitude, for the king's sake; but if
out

Char. I. out of the later, you ought to take the greater
 ~~~~~ care, for your own sake.

You are as a new risen star, and the eyes of all men are upon you; let not your own negligence make you fall like a meteor.

The contemplation then of your present condition must necessarily prepare you for action; what time can be well spared from your attendance on your master, will be taken up by suitors, whom you cannot avoid, nor decline, without reproach; for if you do not already, you will soon find the throng of suitors attend you; for no man, almost, who hath to do with the king, will think himself safe, unless you be his good angel, and guide him, or, or least, that you be not a *Malus Genius* against him; so that, in respect of the king your master, you must be very wary, that you give him true information; and if the matter concern him in his government, that you do not flatter him; if you do, you are as great a traytor to him in the court of heaven, as he that draws his sword against him: and in respect of the suitors which shall attend you, there is nothing will bring you more honour and more ease, then to do them what right in justice you may, and with as much speed as you may; for, believe it, sir, next to the obtaining of the suit, a speedy and a gentle denial (when the case will not bear it) is the most acceptable to suitors; they will gain by their dispatch, whereas else they shall spend their time and money in attending; and you will gain in the ease you will find in being rid of their importunity. But if they obtain what they reasonably desired, they will be doubly bound to you for your favour:



your: \* *Bis dat qui cito dat*; it multiplies the Char. 1.  
courtesie, to do it with good words, and speedily. 

That you may be able to do this with the best advantage, my humble advice is this; when suitors come unto you, set apart a certain hour in a day to give them audience: if the business be light and easie, it may by word only be delivered, and in a word be answered; but if it be either of weight or of difficulty, direct the suitor to commit it to writing (if it be not so already) and then direct him to attend for his answer at a set time to be appointed, which would constantly be observed, unless some matter of great moment do interrupt it: when you have received the petitions (and it will please the petitioners well, to have access unto you to deliver them into your own hand) let your secretary first read them, and draw lines under the material parts thereof (for the matter, for the most part, lies in a narrow room.) The petitions being thus prepared, do you constantly set apart an hour in a day to peruse those petitions; and after you have ranked them into several files, according to the subject matter, make choice of two or three friends, whose judgments and fidelities you believe you may trust in a business of that nature, and recommend it to one or more of them, to inform you of their opinions, and of their reasons for, or against the granting of it; and if the matter be of great weight indeed, then it would not be amiss to send several copies of the same petition to several of your friends, the one not knowing what the other doth, and desire

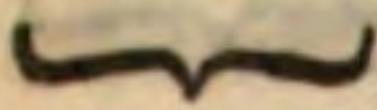
Vol. II.

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them

\* He gives twice, who gives quickly.



Char. I. them to return their answers by a certain time,  to be prefixed in writing; so shall you receive an impartial answer, and by comparing the one with the other, you shall both discern the abilities and faithfulness of your friends, and be able to give a judgment thereupon, as an oracle. But by no means trust not to your own judgment alone, for no man is omniscient; nor trust onely to your servants, who may mislead you, or mis-inform you; by which they may perhaps gain a few crowns, but the reproach will lye upon your self, if it be not rightly carried.

For the facilitating of your dispatches, my advice is further, that you divide all the petitions, and the matters therein contained, under several heads; which, I conceive, may be fitly ranked into these eight sorts.

1. Matters that concern religion, and the church and church-men.

2. Matters concerning justice, and the laws, and the professors thereof.

3. Councillors, and the council-table and the great offices and officers of the kingdom.

4. Foreign negociations and embassies.

5. Peace and war, both foreign and civil, and in that the navy and forts, and what belongs to them.

6. Trade at home and abroad.

7. Colonies, or foreign plantations.

8. The court, and curiality.

And whatsoever will not fall naturally under one of these heads, believe me, sir, will not be worthy of your thoughts, in this capacity we now speak of. And of these sorts, I warrant  
you,



you, you will find enough to keep you in business. Char. I.

I begin with the first, which concerns religion.

1. In the first place, be you your self rightly perswaded and settled in the true protestant religion, professed by the church of England; which doubtless is as sound and orthodox in the doctrine thereof, as any christian church in the world.

2. In this you need not be a monitor to your gracious master the king; the chiefest of his imperial titles, is, to be *The Defender of the Faith*; and his learning is eminent, not only above other princes, but above other men; be but his scholar, and you are safe in that.

3. For the discipline of the church of England, by bishops, &c. I will not positively say, as some do, that it's *Jure Divino*; but this I say, and think, \* *ex animo*, that it is the nearest to apostolical truth; and confidently I shall say, it is fittest for monarchy of all others: I will use no other authority to you, than that excellent proclamation set out by the king himself in the first year of his reign, and annexed before the book of common prayer; which I desire you to read; and if at any time there shall be the least motion made for innovation, to put the king in mind to read it himself: It is most dangerous in a state to give ear to the least alterations in government.

4. Take heed, I beseech you, that you be not an instrument to countenance the *Romish Catholics*: I cannot flatter; the world believes that some near in blood to you are too much of that

M 2

perswa-

\* From my Heart.



Char. 1. perswasion; you must use them with fit respects,  according to the bonds of nature; but you are of kin, and so a friend to their persons, not to their errors.

5. The arch-bishops and bishops, next under the king, have the government of the church and ecclesiastical affairs; be not you the mean to prefer any to those places, for any by-respects, but only for their learning, gravity and worth: their lives and doctrine ought to be exemplary.

6. For deans, and canons or prebends of cathedral churches: in their first institution they were of great use in the church; they were not only to be of council with the bishop for his revenue, but chiefly for his government in causes ecclesiastical; use your best means to prefer such to those places who are fit for that purpose, men eminent for their learning, piety, and discretion, and put the king often in mind thereof; and let them be reduced again to their first institution.

7. You will be often solicited, and perhaps importuned to prefer scholars to church-livings; you may further your friends in that way, *cæteris paribus*; otherwise, remember, I pray, that these are not places meerly of favour, the charge of souls lies upon them; the greatest account whereof will be required at their own hands; but they will share deeply in their faults who are the instruments of their preferment.

8. Besides the *Romish Catholics*, there is a generation of sectaries, the *Anabaptists*, *Brownists*, and others, of their kinds; they have been several times very busie in this kingdom, under the



the colour of zeal for reformation of religion: Char. 1.  
the king your Mr. knows their disposition very well; a small touch will put him in mind of them; he had experience of them in Scotland, I hope he will beware of them in England; a little countenance or connivance sets them on fire.

9. Order and decent ceremonies in the church, are not only comely but commendable; but there must be great care, not to introduce innovations, they will quickly prove scandalous: men are naturally over-prone to suspicion; the true protestant religion is seated in the golden mean; the enemies unto her, are the extreams on either hand.

10. The persons of church-men are to be had in due respect, for their works sake, and protected from scorn: but if a clergy-man be loose and scandalous, he must not be patroniz'd nor wink'd at; the example of a few such, corrupt many.

11. Great care must be taken, that the patrimony of the church be not sacrilegiously diverted to lay-uses: his majesty in his time hath religiously stopped a leak that did much harm, and would else have done more. Be sure, as much as in you lyes, stop the like upon all occasions.

12. Colledges and schools of learning are to be cherished and encouraged, there to breed up a new stock to furnish the church and commonwealth, when the old store are transplanted. This kingdom hath in later ages been famous for good literature; and if preferment shall at-



Char. I. tend the deservers, there will not want supplies.

Next to religion, let your care be to promote justice. By justice and mercy is the king's throne established.

1. Let the rule of justice be the laws of the land, an impartial arbiter between the king and his people, and between one subject and another: I shall not speak superlatively of them, lest I be suspected of partiality, in regard of my own profession; but this I may truly say, they are second to none in the Christian world.

2. And, as far as it may lye in you, let no arbitrary power be intruded: the people of this kingdom love the laws thereof, and nothing will oblige them more, than a confidence of the free enjoying of them. What the nobles, upon an occasion, once said in parliament, \* *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*, is imprinted in the hearts of all the people.

3. But because the life of the laws lyes in the due execution and administration of them, let your eye be in the first place, upon the choice of good judges: these properties had they need to be furnished with; To be learned in their profession, patient in hearing, prudent in governing, powerful in their elocution to perswade and satisfy both the parties and hearers, just in their judgment; and to sum up all, they must have these three attributes; they must be *men of courage, fearing God, and bating covetousness*; an ignorant

\* We would not that the Laws of England should be altered.



ignorant man cannot, a coward dares not be a Char. 1.  
good judge. {

4. By no means be you perswaded to interpose your self, either by word or letter, in any cause depending, or like to be depending in any court of justice, nor suffer any other great man to do it where you can hinder it; and by all means dissuade the king himself from it, upon the importunity of any for themselves or their friends: if it should prevail, it perverts justice; but if the judge be so just, and of so good courage (as he ought to be) as not to be inclined thereby, yet it always leaves a taint of suspicion behind it. Judges must be as chaste as Cæsar's wife, neither to be, nor to be suspected to be, unjust; and, sir, the honour of the judges in their judicature, is the king's honour whom they represent.

5. There is great use of the service of the judges in their circuits, which are twice in the year held throughout the kingdom; the tryal of a few causes between party and party, or delivering of the gaols in several counties, are of great use for the expedition of justice; yet they are of much more use for the government of the counties through which they pass, if that were well thought upon.

6. For if they had instructions to that purpose, they might be the best intelligencers to the king, of the true state of his whole kingdom, of the disposition of the people, of their inclinations, of their intentions and motions, which are necessary to be truly understood.

7. To this end, I could wish, that against every circuit all the judges should, sometimes by  
the



Char. 1. the K. himself, and sometimes by the lord chancellor or lord keeper, in the king's name, receive a charge of those things which the present times did much require; and at their return should deliver a faithful account thereof, and how they found and left the counties through which they passed, and in which they kept their assizes.

8. And that they might the better perform this work, which might be of great importance, it will not be amiss that sometimes this charge be publick, as it useth to be in the star-chamber at the end of the terms next before the circuit begins, where the king's care of justice, and the good of his people, may be published; and that sometimes also it may be private, to communicate to the judges some things not so fit to be publickly delivered.

9. I could wish also that the judges were directed to make a little longer stay in a place than usually they do; a day more in a county would be a very good addition, (although their wages for their circuits were increased in proportion) it would stand better with the gravity of their employment; whereas now they are sometimes enforced to rise over-early, and to sit over-late, for the dispatch of their business, to the extraordinary trouble of themselves and of the people, their times indeed not being *horæ juridicæ*; and, which is the main, they would have the more leisure to inform themselves (\* *quasi aliud agentes*) of the true estate of the country.

10. The

\* As it were otherwise employed.



10. The attendance of the sheriffs of the counties, accompanied with the principal gentlemen, in a comely, not a costly equipage, upon the judges of assize at their coming to the place of their sitting, and at their going out, is not only a civility, but of use also: it raiseth a reverence to the persons and places of the judges, who coming from the king himself on so great an errand, should not be neglected.

11. If any sue to be made a judge, for my own part, I should suspect him; but if either directly or indirectly he should bargain for a place of judicature, let him be rejected with shame:  
\* *vendere jure potest, emerat ille prius.*

12. When the place of a chief judge of a court becomes vacant, a puisne judge of that court, or of another court, who hath approved himself fit and deserving, would be sometimes preferred; it would be a good encouragement for him, and for others, by his example.

13. Next to the judge, there would be care used in the choice of such as are called to the degree of serjeants at law (for such they must be first, before they be made judges) none should be made serjeants, but such as probably might be held fit to be judges afterwards, when the experience at the bar hath fitted them for the bench: therefore by all means cry down that unworthy course of late times used, that they should pay moneys for it: it may satisfy some courtiers, but it is no honour to the person so preferred, nor to the king, who thus prefers him.

14. For the kings counsel at the law, especially his attorney and solicitor-general, I need say no-

\* He may lawfully sell what he had bought before.



Char. 1. nothing; their continual use for the kings service, not only for his revenue, but for all the parts of his government, will put the king, and all those who love his service, in mind to make choice of men every way fit and able for that employment: they had need to be learned in their profession, and not ignorant in other things; and to be dexterous in those affairs whereof the dispatch is committed to them.

15. The king's attorney of the court of wards is in the true quality of the judges; therefore what hath been observed already of judges, which are intended principally of the three great courts of law at *Westminster*, may be applied to the choice of the attorney of this court.

16. The like for the attorney of the dutchy of *Lancaster*, who partakes of both qualities, partly of a judge of that court, and partly of an attorney-general; for so much as concerns the proper revenue of the dutchy.

17. I must not forget the judges of the four circuits in the twelve shires of *Wales*, who altho' they are not of the first magnitude, nor need be of the degree of the coyf (only the chief justice of *Chester*, who is one of the number, is so) yet are they considerable in the choice of them, by the same rules as the other judges are; and they sometimes are, and fitly may be, transplanted into the higher courts.

18. There are many courts (as you see) some superiour, some provincial, and some of a lower orb; it were to be wished, and is fit to be so ordered, that every of them keep themselves within their proper spheres. The harmony of justice is then the sweetest, when there is no jarring about the



the jurisdiction of the court; which me-thinks Char. 1. wisdom cannot much differ upon, their true bounds being for the most part so clearly known.

19. Having said thus much of the judges, somewhat will be fit to put you in mind concerning the principal ministers of justice: and in the first, of the high sheriffs of the counties, which have been very ancient in this kingdom, I am sure before the conquest; the choice of them I commend to your care, and that at fit times you put the king in mind thereof; that as near as may be they be such as are fit for those places, for they are of great trust and power: the *Posse Comitatus*, the power of the whole county, being legally committed unto them.

20. Therefore it is agreeable with the intention of the law, that the choice of them should be by the commendation of the great Officers of the kingdom, and by the advice of the judges, who are presumed to be well read in the condition of the gentry of the whole kingdom: and although the king may do it of himself, yet the old way is the good way.

21. But I utterly condemn the practice of the latter times, which hath lately crept into the court (at the back-stairs) that some who are prick'd for sheriffs, and were fit, should get out of the bill; and others who were neither thought upon, nor worthy to be, should be nominated, and both for money.

22. I must not omit to put you in mind of the lord lieutenants, and deputy-lieutenants of the counties: their proper use is for ordering the military affairs, in order to an invasion from abroad,



Char. I. abroad, or a rebellion or sedition at home; good choice should be made of them, and prudent instructions given to them, and as little of the arbitrary power as may be left unto them; and that the muster-masters, and their officers under them, incroach not upon the subject; that will detract much from the king's service.

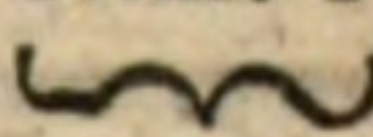
23. The justices of peace are of great use; antiently there were conservators of the peace, these are the same, saving that several acts of parliament have altered their denomination, and enlarged their jurisdiction in many particulars; the fitter they are for the peace of the kingdom, the more heed ought to be taken in the choice of them.

24. But negatively, this I shall be bold to say, that none should be put into either of those commissions with an eye of favour to their persons, to give them countenance of reputation in the places where they live, but for the king's service sake; nor any put out for the disfavour of any great man: it hath been too often used, and hath been no good service to the king.

25. A word more, if you please to give me leave for the true rules of the moderation of justice on the king's part. The execution of justice is committed to his judges, which seemeth to be the severer part: but the milder part, which is mercy, is wholly left in the king's immediate hand: and justice and mercy are the true supporters of his royal throne.

26. If the king shall be wholly intent upon justice, it may appear with an over-rigid aspect; but if he shall be over-remiss and easie, it draweth upon him contempt. Examples of justice must



must be made sometimes for terrour to some; Char. 1. examples of mercy, sometimes, for comfort to others: the one procures fear, and the other love. A king must be both feared and loved, else he is lost. 

27. The ordinary courts of justice I have spoken of, and of their judges and judicature; I shall put you in mind of some things touching the high court of parliament in England, which is superlative; and therefore it will behove me to speak the more warily thereof.

28. For the institution of it, it is very ancient in this kingdom: it consisteth of the two houses of peers and commons, as the members; and of the king's majesty, as the head of that great body: by the king's authority alone, and by his writs, they are assembled, and by him alone they are prorogued and dissolved; but each house may adjourn it self.

29. They being thus assembled, are more properly a council to the king, the council of the kingdom, to advise his majesty in those things of weight and difficulty, which concern both the king and people, than a court.

30. No new laws can be made, nor old laws abrogated or altered, but by common consent in parliament, where bills are prepared and presented to the two houses, and then delivered: but nothing is concluded but by the king's royal assent; they are but embryos, 'tis he giveth life unto them.

31. Yet the house of peers hath a power of judicature in some cases; properly, to examine, and then to affirm, or if there be cause, to reverse the judgments which have been given in the



Char. I. the court of King's Bench, (which is the court of highest jurisdiction in the kingdom, for ordinary judicature) but in these cases it must be done by writ of error *in Parlamento*: and thus the rule of their proceedings is not \* *absoluta potestas*, as in making new laws (in that conjuncture as before) but † *limitata potestas*, according to the known laws of the land.

32. But the house of commons have only power to censure the members of their own house, in point of election or misdemeanors, in or towards that house; and have not, nor ever had power, so much as to administer an oath to prepare a judgment.

33. The true use of parliaments in this kingdom is very excellent; and they would be often called, as the affairs of the kingdom shall require; and continued so long as is necessary, and no longer, for then they be but burthens to the people, by reason of the priviledges justly due to the members of the two houses and their attendants; which their just rights and priviledges are religiously to be observed and maintained; but if they should be unjustly enlarged beyond their true bounds, they might lessen the just power of the crown, they border so near upon popularity.

34. All this while I have spoken concerning the common laws of England, generally, and properly so called, because it is most general and common to almost all cases and causes, both civil and criminal: but there is also another law, which is called the civil or ecclesiastical law, which is confined to some few heads; and that is

\* An absolute Power.

† A limited Power.



is not to be neglected: and although I am a pro-Char. 1.  
fessor of the common law, yet am I so much a  
lover of truth and of learning, and of my na-  
tive countrey, that I do heartily perswade that  
the professors of that law, called civilians (be-  
cause the civil law is their guide) should not be  
discountenanced nor discouraged; else whenso-  
ever we shall have ought to do with any fo-  
reign king or state, we shall be at a miserable  
loss, for want of learned men in that profes-  
sion.

III. I come now to the consideration of those  
things which concern counsellors of state, The  
council-table, and the great offices and officers  
of the kingdom, which are those who for the  
most part furnish out that honourable board.

1. Of counsellors, there are two sorts: the  
first, \* *Consiliarii nati*, (as I may term them) such  
are the prince of Wales, and others of the king's  
sons (when he hath more) of these I speak not,  
for they are naturally born to be counsellors to  
the KING, to learn the art of governing be-  
times.

2. But the ordinary sort of counsellors are  
such as the king, out of a due consideration of  
their worth and abilities, and withal, of their fi-  
delities to his person and to his crown, calleth to  
be of counsel with him in his ordinary govern-  
ment. And the council-table is so called, from  
the place where they ordinarily assemble and sit  
together; and their oath is the onely ceremony  
used, to make them such, which is solemnly  
given unto them, at their first admission: these  
honourable persons are from thenceforth of that  
board

\* Counsellors born.



Char. 1. board and body: they cannot come until they be thus called, and the king at his pleasure may spare their attendance; and he may dispense with their presence there, which at their own pleasure they may not do.

3. This being the quality of their service, you will easily judge what care the king should use, in his choice of them; it behoveth that they be persons of great trust and fidelity, and also of wisdom and judgment, who shall thus assist in bearing up the king's throne; and of known experience in publick affairs.

4. Yet it may not be unfit to call some of young years, to train them up in that trade, and so fit them for those weighty affairs, against the time of greater maturity; and some also for the honour of their persons: but these two sorts not to be tyed to so strict attendance, as the others from whom the present dispatch of business is expected.

5. I could wish that their number might not be so over-great, the persons of the counsellors would be the more venerable. And I know that queen Elizabeth, in whose time I had the happiness to be born, and to live many years, was not so much observed, for having a numerous, as a wise council.

6. The duty of a privy-counsellor to a king, I conceive, is, not onely to attend the council-board, at the times appointed, and there to consult of what shall be propounded; but also to study those things which may advance the king's honour and safety, and the good of the kingdom, and to communicate the same to the king, or to his fellow-counsellors, as there shall be occasion.



caſion. And this, ſir, will concern you more Char. I. than others, by how much you have a larger ſhare in his affections.

7. And one thing I ſhall be bold to deſire you to recommend to his majeſty: that when any new thing ſhall be propounded to be taken into conſideration, that no counſellor ſhould ſuddenly deliver any poſitive opinion thereof; it is not ſo eaſie with all men to retract their opinions, although there ſhall be cauſe for it: but only to hear it, and at the moſt but to break it, at firſt, that it may be the better underſtood againſt the next meeting.

8. When any matter of weight hath been debated, and ſeemeth to be ready for a reſolution; I wiſh it may not be at that fitting concluded (unleſs the neceſſity of the time preſs it) left upon ſecond cogitations there ſhould be cauſe to alter, which is not for the gravity and honour of that board.

9. I wiſh alſo that the king would be pleaſed ſometimes to be preſent at that board, it adds a majeſty to it: and yet not to be too frequently there, that would render it leſs eſteemed when it is become common; beſides, it may ſometimes make the counſellors not to be ſo free in their debates in his preſence, as they would be in his abſence.

10. Beſides the giving of counſel, the counſellors are bound by their duties *ex vi termini*, as well as by their oaths, to keep counſel; therefore are they called \* *de privato conſilio regis*, & *a ſecretioribus conſiliis regis*.

V O L. II.

N

11. One

\* Of the Privy and Cabinet Council of the King.



Char. I. 11. One thing I add, in the negative, which is not fit for that board, the entertaining of private causes, of *meum & tuum*; those should be left to the ordinary course and courts of justice.

12. As there is great care to be used for the councellors themselves to be chosen, so there is of the clerks of the council also, for the secreting of their consultations; and methinks, it were fit that his majesty be speedily moved, to give a strict charge, and to bind it with a solemn order (if it be not already so done) that no copies of the orders of that table be delivered out by the clerks of the council, but by the order of the board; nor any not being a councellor, or a clerk of the council, or his clerk, to have access to the council-books: and to that purpose, that the servants attending the clerks of the council be bound to secrecy, as well as their masters.

13. For the great offices and officers of the kingdom, I shall say little: for the most of them are such, as cannot well be severed from the councellorship; and therefore the same rule is to be observed for both, in the choice of them: in the general, onely, I advise this, let them be set in those places for which they are probably the most fit.

14. But in the quality of the persons, I conceive it will be most convenient to have some of every sort, (as in the time of queen *Elizabeth* it was) one bishop at the least, in respect of questions touching religion, or church-government; one or more skilled in the laws; some for martial



tial affairs, and some for foreign affairs: by this Char. I. mixture one will help another, in all things that shall there happen to be moved: but if that would fail, it will be a safe way, to consult with some other able persons well versed in that point which is the subject of their consultation, which yet may be done so warily, as may not discover the main end therein.

IV. In the next place, I shall put you in mind of the foreign negotiations and embassies, to or with foreign princes or states, wherein I shall be little able to serve you.

1. Onely I will tell you what was the course in the happy dayes of queen *Elizabeth*, whom it will be no dis-reputation to follow: she did vary, according to the nature of the employment, the quality of the persons she employed; which is a good rule to go by.

2. If it were an embassy of gratulation or ceremony (which must not be neglected) choice was made of some noble person, eminent in place, and able in purse, and he would take it as a mark of favour, and discharge it without any great burthen to the queen's coffers, for his own honours sake.

3. But if it were an embassy of weight, concerning affairs of state, choice was made of some sad person of known judgment, wisdom and experience, and not of a young man, not wayed in state-matters; nor of a meer formal man, whatsoever his title or outside were.

4. Yet in company of such, some young towardly noblemen or gentlemen were usually sent also, as assistants or attendants, according to the quality of the persons, who might be thereby



Char. 1. prepared and fitted for the like employment, by  this means, at another turn.

5. In their company were alwayes sent some grave and sad men, skilful in the civil laws, and some in the languages, and some who had been formerly conversant in the courts of those princes, and knew their wayes; these were assistants in private, but not trusted to manage the affairs in publick; that would detract from the honour of the principal embassador.

6. If the negotiation were about merchants affairs, then were the persons employed for the most part doctors of the civil law, assisted with some other discreet men; and in such the charge was ordinarily defrayed by the company or society of merchants, whom the negotiation concerned.

7. If legier embassadors or agents were sent to remain in or near the courts of those princes or states (as it was ever held fit, to observe the motions, and to hold correspondency with them, upon all occasions) such were made choice of, as were presumed to be vigilant, industrious, and discreet men, and had the language of the place whither they were sent; and with these were sent such as were hopeful to be worthy of the like employment at another time.

8. Their care was, to give true and timely intelligence of all occurrences, either to the queen her self, or the secretaries of state, unto whom they had their immediate relation.

9. Their charge was always born by the queen, duly paid out of the exchequer, in such proportion, as, according to their qualities and places might give them an honourable subsistence there: but for the reward of their service, they were to  
ex-



expect it upon their return, by some such pre-Char. 1.  
ferment as might be worthy of them, and yet  
be little burthen to the queen's coffers or reve-  
nues.

10. At their going forth, they had their general instructions in writing, which might be communicated to the ministers of that state whither they were sent; and they had also private instructions, upon particular occasions; and at their return, they did always render an account of some things to the queen her self, of some things to the body of the council, and of some others to the secretaries of state, who made use of them, or communicated them, as there was cause.

11. In those days there was a constant course held, that by the advice of the secretaries, or some principal counsellors, there were alwayes sent forth into several parts beyond the seas some young men, of whom good hopes were conceived of their towardliness, to be trained up, and made fit for such publick employments, and to learn the languages. This was at the charge of the queen, which was not much, for they travelled but as private gentlemen; and as by their industry their deserts did appear, so far were they further employed or rewarded. This course I shall recommend unto you, to breed up a nursery of such publick plants.

V. For peace and war, and those things which appertain to either; I in my own disposition and profession am wholly for peace, if please God to bless the kingdom therewith, as for many years past he hath done: and,



Char. I.

1. I presume I shall not need to persuade you to the advancing of it; nor shall you need to persuade the king your master therein, for that he hath hitherto been another *Solomon* in this our *Israel*; and the motto which he hath chosen (\**Beati Pacifici*) shews his own judgement: but he must use the means to preserve it, else such a jewel may be lost.

2. God is the God of peace (it is one of his attributes) therefore by him alone we must pray, and hope to continue it: there is the foundation.

3. And the king must not neglect the just ways for it; justice is the best protector of it at home, and providence for war is the best prevention of it from abroad.

4. Wars are either foreign or civil; for the foreign war by the king upon some neighbour nation, I hope we are secure; the king, in his just and pious disposition, is not inclinable thereunto; his empire is long enough, bounded with the ocean, as if the very situation thereof had taught the king and people to set up their rests, and say, *ne plus ultra*.

5. And for a war of invasion from abroad; onely we must not be over-secure, that's the way to invite it.

6. But if we be always prepared to receive an enemy, if the ambition or malice of any should incite him, we may be very confident we shall long live in peace and quietness, without any attempt upon us.

7. To make the preparations hereunto the more assured: in the first place, I will recommend

\* Blessed are the Peace-makers,



mend unto you the care of our out-work, the Char. 1.  
navy royal and shipping of our kingdom, which  
are the walls thereof; and every great ship is as  
an impregnable fort; and our many safe and  
commodious ports and havens in every of these  
kingdoms, are as the redoubts to secure them.

8. For the body of the ships, no nation of the  
world doth equal *England*, for the oaken timber  
wherewith to build them; and we need not bor-  
row of any other, iron for spikes, or nails to fa-  
sten them together: but there must be a great  
deal of providence used, that our ship-timber be  
not unnecessarily wasted.

9. But for tackling, as sails and cordage, we  
are beholden to our neighbours for them, and do  
buy them for our money; that must be foreseen  
and layd up in store against a time of need, and  
not sought for when we are to use them: but we  
are much too blame, that we make them not at  
home, onely pitch and tar we have not of our  
own.

10. For the true art of building of ships, for  
burthen and service both, no nation in the world  
exceeds us: ship-wrights and all other artizans  
belonging to that trade must be cherished and en-  
couraged.

11. Powder and ammunition of all sorts we  
can have at home, and in exchange for other  
home-commodities we may be plentifully sup-  
plied from our neighbours, which must not be  
neglected.

12. With mariners and seamen this king-  
dom is plentifully furnished, the constant trade  
of merchandizing will furnish us at a need; and  
navigable rivers will repair the store, both to the  
navy



Char. 1. navy royal, and to the merchants, if they be set  
 on work, and well payed for their labour.

13. Sea-captains and commanders, and other officers must be encouraged, and rise by degrees, as their fidelity and industry deserve it.

14. Our strict league of amity and alliance with our near neighbours the *Hollanders* is a mutual strength to both; the shipping of both, in conjuncture, being so powerful, by Gods blessing, as no foreigners will venture upon; this league and friendship must inviolably be observed.

15. From *Scotland* we have had in former times some alarms and inrodes into the northern parts of this kingdom; but that happy union of both kingdoms under one sovereign, our gracious king, I hope, hath taken away all occasions of breach between the two nations; let not the cause arise from *England*, and I hope the *Scots* will not adventure it; or if they do, I hope they will find, that although to our king they were his first-born subjects, yet to *England* belongs the birth-right: but this should not be any cause to offer any injury to them, nor to suffer any from them.

16. There remains then no danger, by the blessing of God, but a civil war, from which God of his mercy defend us, as that which is most desperate of all others. The king's wisdom and justice must prevent it, if it may be; or if it should happen, *quod absit*, he must quench that wild-fire with all the diligence that possible can be.

17. Com-



17. Competition to the crown, there is none, Char. 1.  
 nor can be ; therefore it must be a fire within the  
 bowels, or nothing, the cures whereof are these ;  
 \* *Remedium præveniens*, which is the best physick  
 either to a natural body, or to a state, by just  
 and equal government to take away the occasion ;  
 and *Remedium puniens*, if the other prevail not :  
 the service and vigilance of the deputy-lieutenants  
 in every county, and of the high-sheriff, will  
 contribute much herein to our security.

18. But if that should not prevail, by a wise  
 and timous inquisition, the peccant humours and  
 humorists must be discovered, and purged, or  
 cut off ; mercy in such a case, in a king, is truly  
 cruelty.

19. Yet if the heads of the tribes can be taken  
 off, and the mis-led multitude will see their er-  
 rour, and return to their obedience, such an ex-  
 tent of mercy is both honourable and profita-  
 ble.

20. A king, against a storm, must fore-see,  
 to have a convenient stock of treasure ; and nei-  
 ther be without money, which is the sinews of  
 war, nor to depend upon the courtesie of others,  
 which may fail at a pinch.

21. He must also have a magazine of all sorts,  
 which must be had from foreign parts, or pro-  
 vided at home ; and to commit them to several  
 places, under the custody of trusty and faithful  
 ministers and officers, if it be possible.

22. He must make choice of expert and able  
 commanders to conduct and manage the war, ei-  
 ther against a foreign invasion, or a home-rebel-  
 lion ; which must not be young and giddy, which  
 dare,



**Char. 1.** dare, not onely to fight, but to swear, and drink, and curse; neither fit to govern others, nor able to govern themselves.

23. Let not such be discouraged, if they deserve well, by mis-information, or for the satisfying the humours or ambition of others, perhaps out of envy, perhaps out of treachery, or other sinister ends: a steady hand in governing of military affairs, is more requisite than in times of peace, because an error committed in war, may perhaps prove irremediable.

24. If God shall bless these endeavours, and the king return to his own house in peace, when a civil war shall be at an end, those who have been found faithful in the land must be regarded, yea, and rewarded also; the traitorous, or treacherous, who have misled others, severely punish'd; and the neutrals, and false-hearted friends and followers, who have started aside like a broken bow, be noted, *Carbone nigro*; and so I shall leave them, and this part of the work.

VI. I come now to the sixth part, which is trade, and that is either at home, or abroad. And I begin with that which is at home; which enableth the subjects of the kingdom to live, and layeth a foundation to a foreign trade by traffique with others, which enableth them to live plentifully and happily.

1. For the home-trade, I first commend unto your consideration the encouragement of tillage, which will enable the kingdom for corn for the natives, and to spare for exportation: and I myself have known, more than once, when in times of dearth, in queen *Elizabeth's* days, it drained much



much coin of the kingdom, to furnish us with Char. I.  
corn from foreign parts. 

2. Good husbands will find the means by good husbandry, to improve their lands by lime, chalk marl, or sea-sand, where it can be had : but it will not be amiss, that they be put in mind thereof, and encouraged in their industries.

3. Planting of orchards in a soil and air fit for them, is very profitable, as well as pleasureable ; cider and perry are notable beverage in sea-voyages.

4. Gardens are also very profitable, if planted with artichokes, roots, and such other things as are fit for food ; whence they are called kitchen-gardens, and that very properly.

5. The planting of hop-yards, sowing of woad, and rape-seed, are found very profitable for the planters, in places apt for them, and consequently profitable for the kingdom, which for divers years was furnished with them from beyond the seas.

6. The planting and preserving of woods, especially of timber, is not only profitable, but commendable, therewith to furnish posterity, both for building and shipping.

7. The kingdom would be much improved, by draining of drowned lands, and gaining that in from the over-flowing of salt waters and the sea, and from fresh waters also.

8. And many of those grounds would be exceeding fit for dairies ; which, being well houswiv'd are exceeding commodious.

9. Much good land might be gained from forests and chases, more remote from the king's access, and from other commonable places ; so as  
al-



Char. 1. always there be a due care taken, that the poor  
commoners have no injury by such improvement.

10. The making of navigable rivers would be very profitable; they would be as so many indraughts of wealth, by conveying of commodities with ease from place to place.

11. The planting of hemp and flax would be an unknown advantage to the kingdom, many places therein being as apt for it, as any foreign parts.

12. But add hereunto, that it be converted into linen-cloath, or cordage, the commodity thereof will be multiplied.

13. So it is of the wools and leather of the kingdom, if they be converted into manufactures.

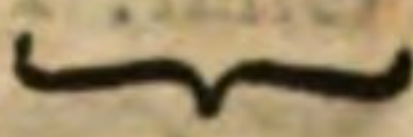
14. Our *English* dames are much given to the wearing of costly laces; and, if they be brought from *Italy*, or *France*, or *Flanders*, they are in great esteem; whereas, if the like laces were made by the *English*, so much thread as would make a yard of lace, being put into that manufacture, would be five times, or perhaps ten, or twenty times the value.

15. The breeding of cattle is of much profit, especially the breed of horses, in many places, not only for travel, but for the great saddle; the *English* horse, for strength, and courage, and swiftness together, not being inferiour to the horses of any other kingdom.

16. The minerals of the kingdom of lead, iron, copper, and tynn especially, are of great value, and set many able-bodied subjects on work; it were great pity they should not be industriously followed.

17. But



17. But of all minerals, there is none like to Char. 1.  
that of fishing upon the coasts of these kingdoms,   
and the seas belonging to them : our neighbours  
within half a days sail of us, with a good wind,  
can shew us the use and value thereof ; and,  
doubtless there is sea-room enough for both na-  
tions, without offending one another ; and it  
would exceedingly support the navy.

18. This realm is much enriched, of late  
years, by the trade of merchandize which the  
*English* drive in foreign parts ; and, if it be wise-  
ly managed, it must of necessity very much in-  
crease the wealth thereof ; care being taken, that  
the exportation exceed in value the importation,  
for then the balance of trade must of necessity be  
returned in corn, or bullion.

19. This would easily be effected, if the mer-  
chants were perswaded, or compelled to make  
their returns in solid commodities, and not too  
much thereof in vanity, tending to excess.

20. But especially care must be taken, that  
monopolies, which are the cankers of all tra-  
ding, be not admitted, under specious colours of  
publick good.

21. To put all these into a regulation, if a  
constant commission to men of honesty and un-  
derstanding were granted, and well pursued, to  
give order for the managing of these things both  
at home and abroad, to the best advantage ; and  
that this commission were subordinate to the coun-  
cel-board, it is conceived it would produce nota-  
ble effects.

VII. The next thing is that of colonies and  
foreign plantations, which are very necessary, as  
out-



Char. 1. out-lets to a populous nation, and may be profitable also, if they be managed in a discreet way.

1. First, in the choice of the place; which requireth many circumstances, as the situation near the sea, for the commodiousness of an intercourse with *England*, the temper of the air and climate, as may best agree with the bodies of the *English*, rather inclining to cold, than heat; that it be stored with woods, mines, and fruits, which are naturally in the place; that the soil be such as will probably be fruitful for corn, and other conveniencies, and for breeding of cattel; that it hath rivers, both for passage between place and place, and for fishing also, if it may be; that the natives be not so many, but that there may be elbow-room enough for them, and for the adventives also: all which are likely to be found in the *West-Indies*.

2. It would be also such as is not already planted by the subjects of any christian prince, or state, nor over-neerly neighbouring to their plantation. And it would be more convenient, to be chosen by some of those gentlemen or merchants which move first in the work, than to be designed unto them from the king; for it must proceed from the option of the people, else it sounds like an exile: so the colonies must be raised by the leave of the king, and not by his command.

3. After the place is made choice of, the first step must be, to make choice of a fit governour, who although he have not the name, yet he must have the power of a *Vice-Roy*; and if the person who principally moved in the work be not fit for that trust, yet he must not be excluded from



from command ; but then his defect in the governing part must be supplied by such assistants as shall be joyned with him, or as he shall very well approve of. Char. I.

4. As at their setting out they must have their commission, or letters patents from the king, that so they may acknowledge their dependency upon the crown of *England*, and under his protection ; so they must receive some general instructions how to dispose of themselves when they come there, which must be in nature of laws unto them.

5. But the general law, by which they must be guided and governed, must be the common law of *England* ; and to that end it will be fit, that some man, reasonably studied in the law, and otherwise qualified for such a purpose, be perswaded (if not thereunto inclined of himself, which were the best) to go thither as a chancellor amongst them, at first ; and when the plantation were more settled, then to have courts of justice, there, as in *England*.

6. At the first planting, or as soon after as they can, they must make themselves defensible both against the natives, and against strangers ; and to that purpose, they must have the assistance of some able military man, and convenient arms and ammunition for their defence.

7. For the discipline of the church in those parts, it will be necessary, that it agree with that which is settled in *England* ; else it will make a schism, and a rent in Christs coat, which must be seamless : and, to that purpose, it will be fit, that by the king's supream power in causes ecclesiastical, within all his dominions, they be sub-  
or-



Char. 1. ordinate under some bishop and bishoprick of  
 this realm.

8. For the better defence against a common enemy, I think it would be best, that foreign plantations should be placed in one continent, and neer together; whereas, if they be too remote the one from the other, they will be disunited, and so the weaker.

9. They must provide themselves of houses, such as for the present, they can, and, at more leisure, such as may be better; and they first must plant for corn and cattle, &c. for food, and necessary sustenance; and after, they may enlarge themselves for those things which may be for profit and pleasure, and to traffique withal also.

10. Woods for shipping in the first place, may doubtless be there had, and minerals there found, perhaps, of the richest; howsoever, the mines out of the fruits of the earth, and seas, and waters adjoyning, may be found in abundance.

11. In a short time they may build vessels and ships also for traffique with the parts near adjoyning, and with *England* also, from whence they may be furnished with such things as they may want, and in exchange, or barter, send from thence other things, with which quickly, either by nature, or art, they may abound.

12. But these things would, by all means be prevented; that no known bankrupt, for shelter; nor known murderer, or other wicked person, to avoid the law; nor known heretick, or schismatick, be suffered to go into those countreys; or, if they do creep in there, not to be harboured or continued: else, the place would receive them  
 naught,



naught, and return into *England*, upon all occasions, worse. Char. 1.

13. That no merchant, under colour of driving a trade thither, or from thence, be suffered to work upon their necessities.

14. And that to regulate all these inconveniences, which will insensibly grow upon them, that the king be pleased to erect a subordinate council in *England*, whose care and charge shall be, to advise, and put in execution, all things which shall be found fit for the good of those new plantations; who, upon all occasions, shall give an account of their proceedings to the king, or to the countel-board, and from them receive such directions as may best agree with the government of that place.

15. That the king's reasonable profit be not neglected, partly, upon reservation of moderate rents and services; and partly, upon customs; and partly, upon importation and exportation of merchandize; which, for a convenient time after the plantation begin, would be very easie, to encourage the work; but after it is well settled, may be raised to a considerable proportion, worthy the acceptation.

VIII. I come to the last of those things which I propounded, which is, the court, and curiality.

The other did properly concern the king, in his royal capacity, \* as *Pater patriæ*; this more properly, as † *Paterfamilias*: and herein,

I. I shall, in a word, and but in a word, only, put you in mind, that the king in his own

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O

per-

\* Father of his Country.

† Father of his Family.



Char. 1. person, both in respect of his household, or court, and in respect of his whole kingdom; (for a little kingdom is but as a great household, and a great household, as a little kingdom) must be exemplary, *Regis ad exemplum*, &c. But for this, God be praised, our charge is easie; for your gracious master, for his learning and piety, justice and bounty, may be, and is, not onely a president to his own subjects, but to foreign princes also; yet he is still but a man, and seasonable *Memento's* may be useful; and being discreetly used, cannot but take well with him.

2. But your greatest care must be, that the great men of his court (for you must give me leave to be plain with you, for so is your injunction laid upon me) your self in the first place, who is first in the eye of all men, give no just cause of scandal, either by light, or vain, or by oppressive carriage.

3. The great officers of the king's household had need be both discreet and provident persons, both for his honour, and for his thrift: they must look both ways, else they are but half-sighted: yet in the choice of them, there is more latitude left to affection, than in the choice of counsellors, and of the great officers of state, before touched, which must always be made choice of meerly out of judgment, for in them the publick hath a great interest.

4. For the other ministerial officers in court (as, for distinction sake, they may be termed) there must be also an eye unto them, and upon them; they have usually risen in the household by degrees, and it is a noble way, to encourage  
faith-



faithful service: but the king must not bind him-  
 self to a necessity herein, for then it will be held *ex debito*; neither must he alter it, without an  
 apparent cause for it: but to displace any who  
 are in, upon displeasure, which for the most part  
 happeneth upon the information of some great  
 man, is, by all means to be avoided, unless there  
 be a manifest cause for it. Char. I.

5. In these things you may sometimes inter-  
 pose, to do just and good offices: but for the  
 general, I should rather advise, meddle little,  
 but leave the ordering of those household-affairs to  
 the white-staffs, which are those honourable per-  
 sons, to whom it properly belongeth, to be an-  
 swerable to the king for it; and to those other  
 officers of the green-cloth, who are subordinate  
 to them, as a kind of council, and a court of ju-  
 stice also.

6. Yet for the green-cloth law, (take it in the  
 largest sense) I have no opinion of it, farther than  
 it is regulated by the just rules of the common-  
 laws of *England*.

7. Towards the support of his majesties own  
 table, and of the princes, and of his necessary of-  
 ficers, his majesty hath a good help by purvey-  
 ance, which justly is due unto him; and, if justly  
 used, is no great burthen to the subject; but by  
 the purveyors, and other under-officers, is many  
 times abused. In many parts of the kingdom, I  
 think it is already reduced to a certainty in mo-  
 ney; and if it be indifferently and discreetly ma-  
 naged, it would be no hard matter to settle it so  
 throughout the whole kingdom; yet to be renew-  
 ed from time to time, for that will be the best,  
 and safest, both for the king and people.



Char. 1.

8. The king must be put in mind, to preserve the revenues of his crown, both certain, and casual, without diminution, and to lay up treasure in store against a time of extremity; empty coffers give an ill sound, and make the people many times forget their duty, thinking that the king must be beholden to them for his supplies.

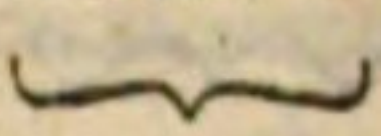
9. I shall by no means think it fit, that he reward any of his servants with the benefit of forfeitures, either by fines in the court of star-chamber, or high-commission courts, or other courts of justice; or that they should be farmed out, or bestowed upon any, so much as by promise, before judgement given; it would neither be profitable, nor honourable.

10. Besides matters of serious consideration, in the courts of princes, there must be times for pastimes and disports: when there is a queen, and ladies of honour attending her, there must sometimes be masques, and revels, and enterludes; and when there is no queen, or princess, as now, yet at festivals, and for entertainment of strangers, or upon such occasions, they may be fit also: yet care would be taken, that in such cases, they be set off more with wit and activity, than with costly and wasteful expences.

11. But for the king and prince, and the lords and chivalry of the court, I rather commend, in their turns and seasons, the riding of the great horse, the tilts, barriers, tennis, and hunting, which are more for the health and strength of those who exercise them, than in an effeminate way to please themselves and others.

And



And now the prince groweth up fast to be a Char. 1.  
man, and is of a sweet and excellent disposition;  it would be an irreparable stain and dishonour upon you, having that access unto him, if you should mis-lead him, or suffer him to be mis-led by any flattering parasites: the whole kingdom hath a deep interest in his virtuous education; and if you, keeping that distance which is most fit, do humbly interpose your self, in such a case, he will one day give you thanks for it.

12. Yet dice and cards may sometimes be used for recreation, when field-sports cannot be had; but not to use it as a mean to spend the time, much less to mis-spend the thrift of the gamesters.

*S I R*, I shall trouble you no longer; I have run over these things as I first propounded them; please you to make use of them, or any of them, as you shall see occasion; or to lay them by, as you think best, and to add to them, as you daily may, out of your experience.

I must be bold again, to put you in mind of your present condition; you are in the quality of a sentinel; if you sleep, and neglect your charge, you are an undone man, and you may fall faster than you have risen.

I have but one thing more to mind you of, which nearly concerns your self; you serve a great and gracious master, and there is a most hopeful young prince, whom you must not desert; it behoves you to carry your self wisely and evenly between them both: adore not so the rising son, that you forget the father, who raised you to this height; nor be you so obsequious to



Char. 1. the father, that you give just cause to the son  
 ~~~~~ to suspect that you neglect him : but carry your  
 self with that judgement, as, if it be possible,
 may please and content them both, which, truly,
 I believe, will be no hard matter for you to do ;
 so may you live long beloved of both, which is
 the hearty prayer of

Your most obliged and devoted servant.

THese were his rules, and this his practice :
 my lord of *Nottingham* he bought nobly from
 the admiralty ; his assistant, vice-admiral *Maun-*
sel, he entertained civilly, and procured that
 place for life, which he had only during plea-
 sure. The warden of the cinque-ports resigned
 his place seasonably ; the master of the horse gave
 up his preferment and his life opportunely.—He
 advanced his relations prudently, gratifying them,
 and fortifying himself : he made an excellent
 choice of servants and confederates ; entertained
 the ablest and most faithful assistants : doctor
Williams and dr. *Laud* were of his council for the
 church, sir *Francis Bacon* for the state. From
 the first he received frequent schedules of persons
 and doctrines ; from the other constant transcripts
 of rules and intelligence : never any man more
 constant to his approved friend, never any more
 fatal to his known enemies : he was the instru-
 ment of all the subjects services to his sovereign,
 and of his sovereign's favours to his subjects : no
 place was bestowed without his knowledge ; no
 action

action passed without his approbation; not an Char. I.
eminent man but depended on him, and was sub-
ordinate to him: his dispatches were many, and
pregnant testimonies that he was a great master
of his time, and a greater of his method and af-
fairs. Great he was indeed, and humble too,
not raised by his present fortune above the sense
of his former: *envied* he was, not *bated*; ap-
plauded in the same parliament for his services,
and declaimed against for his preferments; ever
studious of the peoples interest, which is the care
of *few* favourites; never happy in their love,
which is the fate of *all*. He approved himself
both to the declining monarch, and the rising, as
having won himself not so much to their affecti-
ons, which were alterable, as to their judgements,
which were lasting; and made his preferment ra-
ther a matter of interest, which is real, than of
favour, which is personal: looking on *Somerset*
laid at his feet, *Bristol* and *Williams* brought on
their knees, *Carlisle* and *Pembroke* beneath him,
and *Holland* behind him; and every man that
would not owe his preferment to his favour, must
owe his ruine to his frown. He was intrusted
with the greatest service and secret in *Spain*, when
he dived to the bottom of that countreys policy,
and the intrigues of *Europes* counsels; and could
come off in the match with *Spain* to the king and
kingdoms mind dexterously, when sir *Walter A-*
ston and my lord of *Bristol* were at a loss about it,
to both their displeasures, *weakly*, amidst the
open entertainment, and secret working of that
place.—In his attendance on the king in *Scotland*
as counsellor of that kingdom, he carried himself
with singular sweetness and temper, as it beho-
ved

Char. I. ved him, being now in favour, and succeeding
 ~~~~~ one of their own. They that censure his sudden  
 advancements and great preferments, consider  
 not, that

“ Certainly the hearts of great princes, if they  
 “ be considered as it were in abstract, without the  
 “ necessities of states, and circumstances of time,  
 “ being besides their natural extent, moreover  
 “ once opened and dilated with affection, can  
 “ take no full and proportionable pleasure in the  
 “ exercise of any narrow bounty. And albeit at  
 “ first they give only upon choice and love of  
 “ the person, yet within a while themselves like-  
 “ wise begin to love their givings, and to fo-  
 “ ment their deeds, no less than parents do their  
 “ children.

Besides that, “ by so long, and so private, and  
 “ so various consociation with a prince of such  
 “ excellent nature, he had now gotten as it were  
 “ two lives in his own fortune and greatness;  
 “ whereas otherwise the estate of a favourite is  
 “ at the best but a tenant at will, and rarely  
 “ transmitted.

“ And the more notable, because it had been  
 “ without any visible eclipse or wane in himself,  
 “ amidst divers variations in others. How ge-  
 “ neral his care appears in that amidst his more  
 “ important negotiations, he condescended to  
 “ this noble act of charity to a scholar and to  
 “ learning; which I must, for my part, cele-  
 “ brate above all his expences. There was a  
 “ collection of certain rare manuscripts exqui-  
 “ sitely written in *Arabick*, and sought in the  
 “ most remote parts, by the diligence of *Erpe-*  
 “ *ninus* the most excellent linguist. These had  
 “ been



“ been left to the widow of the said *Erpenius*, Char. 1.  
 “ and were upon sale to the jesuites of *Antwerp*,  
 “ liquorish chapmen of such ware. Whereof  
 “ the duke getting knowledge by his worthy  
 “ and learned secretary, doctor *Mason*, inter-  
 “ verted the bargain, and gave the poor widow  
 “ for them five hundred pounds, a sum a-  
 “ bove their weight in silver, and a mixed act  
 “ both of bounty and charity; the more lauda-  
 “ ble, being much out of his natural element.  
 These were they, which after his death were as  
 nobly presented as they had been bought to *Cam-*  
*bridge* by his dutchess, as soon as she understood  
 by the foresaid doctor her lords intention to fur-  
 nish the said university with other choice collecti-  
 ons from all parts at his own charge.

“ The duke’s answers to his appeachments,  
 “ in number thirteen, I find very diligently and  
 “ civilly couched: and though his heart was big,  
 “ yet they all favour of an humble spirit one way,  
 “ and an equitable consideration another, which  
 “ could not but possess every vulgar conceit,  
 “ and somewhat allay the whole matter; that in  
 “ the bolting and sifting of near fourteen years  
 “ of such power and favour, all that came out  
 “ could not be expected to be pure, and white,  
 “ and fine meal, but must needs have withal a-  
 “ mong it a certain mixture of powder and bran  
 “ in this lower age of humane fragility. How-  
 “ soever this tempest did only shake, and not  
 “ rent his sails.

His defence against danger was noble, but his  
 contempt of it nobler; for when sir *George Go-*  
*ring* advised him only to turn out of the ordinary  
 road, “ he resolved not to wave his way upon this  
 rea-



Char. I. “ reason, perhaps more generous than provi-  
 “ dent; that if, as he said, he should but once  
 “ by such a diversion make his enemy believe he  
 “ were afraid of danger, he should never live  
 “ without. And when his young nephew the  
 lord viscount *Fielding* offered him another time  
 to put on his coat and blew ribbon, while they  
 passed through a town where they apprehended  
 some design against the duke; “ *he would not*  
 “ (as he said) *accept of such an offer in that case*  
 “ *from a nephew, whose life he tendered as much*  
 “ *as himself*: but after some short direction to  
 his company, he rode on without perturbation  
 of mind, though a drunken fellow laid hold of  
 his bridle under pretence of begging, to begin a  
 tumult.

“ Neither (for ought I can \* hear) was there  
 “ any further enquiry into that practice, the duke  
 “ peradventure thinking it wisdom not to reserve  
 “ discontentments too deep.

“ But in the midst of these little dangers,  
 “ his grace was not unmindful of his civil course,  
 “ to cast an eye upon the ways to win unto him  
 “ such as have been of principal credit in the  
 “ lower house of parliament; applying lenitives,  
 “ or subducting from that part where he knew  
 “ the humours were sharpest; amidst which  
 “ thoughts, he was surprized by a fatal stroke,  
 “ written in the black book of necessity. Where-  
 of he was forewarned as well by his own as others  
 apprehensions, as appears by his last addresses to  
 the arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the earl of *Holland*,  
 and his sacred majesty.

“ And

\* Sir Hen. Wotton's Life of the Duke of Buckingham.



“ And certain it is, that some good while be-  
 “ fore, fir *Clement Throckmorton*, a gentleman  
 “ then living, of grave judgement, had a pri-  
 “ vate conference advised him to wear a privy  
 “ coat; whose counsel the duke received very  
 “ kindly, but gave him this answer; *that against*  
 “ *any popular fury, a shirt of mail would be but a*  
 “ *silly defence; and as for any single mans assault,*  
 “ *he took himself to be in no danger* — so dark is  
 destiny. Since he is dead, he is charged;

1. For advancing his relations; which yet was  
 humanity in him, and not a fault.

2. For enriching himself; though as it is said  
 of that *French* peer, he was rich only in obligati-  
 ons, his estate being at the mercy of suitors.

“ To his familiar servants, so open-handed he  
 “ was, though many of them so ungrateful as  
 “ to deny relation unto him, either about his  
 “ person in ordinary attendance; or about his  
 “ affairs of state, as his secretaries; or of office,  
 “ as his steward; or of law, as that worthy knight  
 “ whom he long used to sollicit his causes: he  
 “ left all both in good fortune; and which is  
 “ more, in good fame: things very seldom con-  
 “ fociated in the instruments of great persona-  
 “ ges.

3. He had many offices, but committed him-  
 self a most willing pupil to the directions of such  
 as were generally thought fit to manage affairs of  
 that nature, condescending to the meanest arts,  
 to adapt himself to his employments.

4. He was not bookish, it's true; his affairs  
 forbad him study, yet had he a natural readiness  
 to discourse of all subjects; which wanted nothing  
 towards applause, but the candor and benevo-  
 lence



Char. 1. lence of his hearers, whose dis-ingenuity oft-times turned his most honest discourses to accusations; witness that ebullition of his joy to his majesty in behalf of his people, which sir *John Eliot* made treason against them.

5. He was great indeed, but gentle and affable; infomuch, that “ though his memory were  
“ a place so taken up with high thoughts, and  
“ unlikely to have any room for matters of so small importance, he was ever known to entertain his younger acquaintance with much familiarity,—and all men with that civility, wherein was observed his “ peculiarity, happy bravery  
“ of deriving favours, and conferring them with  
“ so many noble circumstances, as the manner  
“ was as obliging as the matter, and mens understandings oft-times as much puzzled as their  
“ gratitude.

6. He would intercede, it's confessed, for poor malefactors more out of his innate compassion, than any design to obstruct the course of justice: believing doubtless (saith my author) *that hanging was the worst use a man could be put to.*

“ In fine, a gentleman he was of that choice  
“ and curious make for exterior shape, as if  
“ nature had not in his whole frame drawn one  
“ line amiss, nor was his fabrick raised by soft  
“ and limber studs, but sturdy and virile. His  
“ intellectuals gained him rather the opinion of  
“ a wise man, than of a wit. His skill in letters  
“ very mean; for finding nature more indulgent  
“ to him in the ornaments of the body, than of  
“ the mind, the tendency of his youthful genius  
“ was rather to improve those excellencies  
“ wherein his choice felicity consisted, than to  
“ ad-



“ addict himself to morose and sullen bookish-  
 “ nefs; therefore his chief exercises were, dan-  
 “ cing, fencing, vaulting, and the like, as in-  
 “ dications of strenuous agility; yet could he  
 “ have foreseen where all the climacteries and  
 “ motions of his advance should have terminated,  
 “ that from no more than a meer gentleman, it  
 “ should be his luck to vault into the dignity of  
 “ a duke, and trust of a privy-counsellor, we  
 “ may presume his early studies would not have  
 “ cast so much neglect upon a thing so impor-  
 “ tant to him as a statesman, though not very  
 “ fashionable as a courtier. The temperature of  
 “ his mind was, as to moral habits, rather dis-  
 “ posed to good than bad; his deportment was  
 “ most affable and debonair, a rare example in  
 “ one raised so high and so speedily: to his re-  
 “ lations liberal, firm to his friend, formidable  
 “ to his enemy. He was a courtier, and a young  
 “ man, a profession and age prone to such de-  
 “ fires, as when they tend to the shedding of no-  
 “ mans blood, to the ruine of no family, huma-  
 “ nity sometimes connives at, though she never  
 “ approves. So that take him in his publick  
 capacity (wherein only he comes under our ob-  
 servation, which meddles not with mens private  
 converse or moralities any further than they are  
 subservient to their state-employments) we may  
 say of him, as one doth of his master; *that in*  
*him the things we can wish, are fewer than those*  
*we praise.*

But be it for ever remembered, that the vil-  
 lain, whose despair of advancement made him  
 careless of his own life, and master of this *Lords*,  
 talked in his examination of a sermon at *St. Faiths*,  
 not



Char. 1. not his own parish-church, where he heard ; *that every man in a good cause might be judge and executioner of sin* ; which he applied to himself. Whence raw discourfers in divinity should learn how prudently they should preach ; and itching hearers, how warily they should hear.

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*Observations on the Life of William  
Noy, Attorney General.*

Lloyd. **W**ILLIAM Noy, born in Cornwall, was bred in Lincolns-Inne, a most sedulous student, constantly conversant with ancient writings, verifying his anagram :

WILLIAM NOY,

I moyl in Law.

He was for many years the stoutest champion for the subjects liberty, until king Charles entertained him to be his attorney. The dis-ingenuity of the parliament, and his impendent necessity, would have put another soveraign on extraordinary wayes ; but to king Charles it was enough, they were illegal. No extremity, though never so fatal, could provoke him to irregularities ; yet whatever wayes the laws allowed, or prerogative claimed, to secure a desperate people, that would undo themselves, he was willing to hearken to ; therefore for a cunning man, the cunningst at  
such



such a project of any within his three dominions, Char. I. he sends for his attorney-general Noy, and tells him what he had in contemplation, bids him contrive the mode, but a statutable one, for defraying the expence: away goeth the subtle engineer, and at length, from old records bolts out an ancient common precedent of raising a tax for setting out a navy in case of danger.

The king glad of the discovery, as *Treasure-trove*, presently issued out writs, first to the port-towns within the realm, declaring that the safety of the kingdom was in danger (and so it was indeed) and therefore that they should provide against a day prefixed twenty seven ships of so many tun, with guns, gun-powder, tackle, and all other things necessary.

But this business is no sooner ripened, than the *author* of it dyeth, Aug. 6. 1634. He was a man passing humorous, but very honest; clownish, but knowing; a most indefatigable plodder, and searcher of ancient records; whereby he became an eminent instrument both of good and evil (and of which most, is a great question) to the king's prerogative: for during the times that parliaments were frequent, he appeared a stout patriot for the common-wealth; and in the last was an active opponent in the differences concerning tonnage and poundage: but when the dissolution of that was in some mens apprehensions, the end of all; no sooner did the king shew him the lure of advancement, but quitting all his former inclinations, he wheeled about to the prerogative, and made amends with his future service for all his former dis-obligements.—This is something smart; more to his advantage is *that* character



Char. 1. *ra*cter arch-bishop *Laud* gives him; *that he was the best friend the church ever had of a layman, since it needed any such* (and indeed he was very vigilant over its adversaries, witness his early foresight of the danger, and industrious prosecution of the illegality of the design of buying impropriations set up by persons not well affected to the present constitution) and that of the historian, that he loved to hear dr. *Preston* preach, because he spake so *solidly, as if he knew Gods will*.—To which I add a passage from the mouth of one present thereat.

The goldsmiths of London had (and in due time may have) a custom once a year to weigh gold in the *Star-Chamber*, in the presence of the privy-council and the king's attorney. This solemn weighing by a word of art they call the *pix*, and make use of so exact scales therein, that the master of the company affirmed, that they would turn with the two hundredth part of a grain. *I should be loth* (said the attorney *Noy*, standing by) *that all my actions should be weighed in those scales; with whom all men concur that know themselves: and this was the first evidence of his parts, and the occasion of his reputation.* Three *grafiers* at a fair had left their money with their hostess while they went to market;—one of them calls for the money, and runs away;—the other two come upon the woman, and sue her for delivering that which she had received from the three, before the three came and demanded it.—The cause went against the woman, and judgment was ready to be pronounced; when mr. *Noy* being a stranger, wisheth her to give him a fee, because he could not plead else; and then moves in arrest of judgment,



ment, that he was retained by the defendant, Char. I. and that the case was this: The defendant had received the money of the three together, and confesseth, was not to deliver it until the same three demanded it; and therefore the money is ready, let the three men come, and it shall be paid: a motion which altered the whole proceeding. Of which, when I hear some say it was obvious, I remember that when Columbus discovered America, every one said it was easie: and he one day told a company at table where he was, that he could do a stranger thing than that discovery; he would make an egg stand an end on a plain table: the speculatives were at a loss how it should be done;—he knocks the egg upon the end, and it stands: Oh! was that all, they cryed; yes (saith he) this is all! and you see how hard a thing it is to conceive a thing in the idea, which it's nothing to apprehend in the performance. I need say no more of this gentleman, but that sergeant Maynard will say to this hour, he rose mainly at first by being looked upon as Mr. Noy's favourite.

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### *Observations on the Life of Sir John Savil.*

THE methods of this gentleman's advancement exactly parallel those of his countryman Sir *Thomas Wentworth*: both had the same foundation of wealth and honour to *build on*;



Char. I-both had solid and strong parts to act by; both began with popularity in the countrey, proceeded with activity in parliament;—accomplished themselves with correspondence all over the nation: both eminent upon the bench; both hospitable at home; both bountiful to lecturers; both well skilled in, and stedfast to the great points of *Prerogative* and *Liberty*.—For the last whereof; they were so bold (as sure either by carrying the cause to oblige the people to themselves, or by suffering for it to enrage them against the government) that sir R. Weston made it his business to take off the one, and my lord of Canterbury the other; which they did with such success, that as my lord Wentworth became a great favourite, so the lord Savile was an eminent counsellor; only finding that his young neighbour had got the start of him, he kept to one of his popular principles always, viz. a restless impetuosity towards papists, against whom he made himself famous; 1. For a disputation procured by him in Drury-lane (whither he brought bishop Usher under the notion of a countrey parson; when the jesuites cryed, *There was more Learning in that Parson, than in all the men in England.*) 2. For a project offered by him in *Parliament*.—For when they taking advantage of king Charles his wants, profered to maintain five thousand men to serve his majesty in Ireland, and a proportion of ships to secure him in England, on condition of the free exercise of their religion: sir John interposed, *That if the King were pleased but to call on the Recusants to pay thirds (legally due to the Crown) it would prove a way more effectual*



*effectual, and less offensive, to raise a mass of money: Char. 1. it being but just that they who were so rich and free to purchase new Priviledges, should first pay their old Penalties.* When I read of a lord Savile going privately to Scotland, 1639. subscribing to a petition, with other moderate lords, as they called them, containing the very sense of the faction (insomuch that it is observed, the city-petition and theirs were couched in the same words) yet going to Oxford, and after all, being so turbulent there, that his majesty was fain to send him beyond sea, where his majesty writes with his own hand, *he doubts he will rather exchange his villany, than end it*; I am almost of that wise mans mind, that there were no less than 17 particular designs set on foot by the promotion of the late troubles; whereof though most, yet not all were carried on in Westminster:—or to enforce something more solid; that a king should say as the Italian doth, *if my subject deceives me once, God forgive him; if a second time, God forgive me*; and the rather, because it's fatal for majesty to err twice.

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### *Observations on the Life of Bishop Williams.*

**A** Strong constitution *made* his parts, a strict Lloyd. education *improved* them; unwearied was his industry, unexpressible his capacity: he never saw the book of worth he read not, he never forgot what he read: he never lost the use of



Char. I. what he remembered: every thing he heard or saw was his own; and what was his own, he knew how to use to the utmost: his extraction being gentile, his soul large and noble, his presence and carriage comely and stately; his learning copious, his judgment stayed, his apprehension clear and searching, his expression lively and effectual, his elocution flowing and majestick; his proctorship, when he gave the lord chancellor Egerton so much satisfaction in treating the Spanish ambassador at an act in Cambridge, that thenceforward he resolved on his preferment, 1612, discovered him a person above his place; and his lectures to his pupils, above his preferment. Bishop Vaughan first admitted him to his family, and then to his bosom; there his strong sermons, his exact government (under my lord) his plentiful observation, his numerous acquaintance, made him my lord chancellor Egerton's friend, rather than his servant; his familiar, rather than his chaplain. Never was there a more communicative master to instruct, than my lord Ellesmere; never a more capable scholar to learn than Dr. Williams, who had instilled to him all necessary state-maxims while his old master lived, and had bequeathed to him four excellent \* books, when his master was dead: these four books he presented to K. James the very same time that he offered himself to the duke of Buckingham. The excellent prince observed him as much for the first gift, as the noble duke did for the second: the king and duke made him their own, who they saw had made that excellent book *his*. Willing

was

\* 1. Of the prerogative royal. 2. Privileges of parliament. 3. The proceedings in chancery. 4. The power of the star-chamber.



was king James to advance *clergy-men*, and glad Char. 1.  
to meet with men capable of *advancement*. His  
two sermons at court made him dean of West-  
minster; his exact state of the earl of Somer-  
set's case made him capable of, and the KING'S  
inclination to trust his conscience in a divine's  
hand settled him in the lord keepers place  
*actually*, only for three years to *please the people*  
(who were offended with his years, now but 34,  
and his calling a divine :) but *designedly* for ever  
to serve his majesty. The lawyers despised him  
at first, but the judges admired him at last: and  
one of them said, "That never any man ap-  
prehended a case so clearly, took in all the  
law, reason, and other circumstances more  
punctually, recollected the various debates  
more faithfully, summed it up more com-  
pendiously, and concluded more judiciously  
and discreetly." For many of them might  
have read more than he, but none digested what  
they read more solidly, none disposed of their  
reading more methodically, none therefore com-  
manded it more readily. He demurred several  
orders, as that of my lord chancellor's pardon,  
the earl marshal's patent, &c. to let his majesty  
see his judgment; yet passed them to let him see  
his obedience: he would question the duke's or-  
der sometimes discreetly, to let him know he un-  
derstood himself; yet he would yield handsomly,  
to let him see he understood *him*: and indeed  
he had the admirable faculty of making every  
one of his actions carry prudence in the perfor-  
mance. Necessary it was, for one of his years  
and place to keep his distance, and *avoid con-*  
*tempt*; yet fatal was it to him to do so, and *in-*



Char. I. *cur envy*.---Well understood he the interest of all his places, and resolutely he maintained them. *What?* saith he, *shall the liberties of Westminster be infringed, when the chief favourite is Steward, and the lord keeper dean, and I the contemptible man that must be trampled on?* When he was in trouble, what passion, what insinuation, what condescension hath he at command? when petitioned to, how quickly he looked through men and business? how exactly would he judge, and how resolutely conclude, without an immediate intimation from his majesty or the duke! Many eyes were upon him, and as many eyes were kept by him upon others; being very watchful on all occasions to accommodate all emergencies, and meet with all humors---alwayes keeping men in dependance on the duke, according to this intimation of his.---*Cabal 287, Let him hold it, but by your lordships favour, not his own power.* A good way, had he been constant to it, the neglect whereof undid him; for designing the promotion of doctor Price to the arch-bishoprick of Armagh, he moved it to the duke, who told him it was disposed of to doctor Usher. Whereupon he went his own way to advance that man, and overthrew himself: for then his lord let him feel what he had threatened my lord Bacon when he advanced him; *That if he did not owe his preferment alwayes to his favour, he should owe his fall to his frown.* The peremptoriness of his judgment rendered him *odious*; his compliance with Bristol, *suspected*; and his sermon at king James his funeral [his tryal rather than his preferment] *obnoxious*. His spirit was great to *act*, and too great to *suffer*. It was prudence to execute his de-



decrees against all opposition while in power : it was not so, to bear up his miscarriages against all authority while in *disgrace*. A sanguine complexion, with its resolutions, do well in pursuit of success : phlegm and its patience do better in a retreat from miscarriages. This he wanted, when [it may be, thinking *fear* was the passion of king Charles his government as well as king James] he seconded his easie fall with loud and open discontents, and those discontents with a chargeable defence of his servants that were to justify them, and all with that unsafe popularity, invidious pomp, and close *irregularity*, that laid him open to too many active persons that watched him : whether his standing out against authority to the perplexing of the government in the Star-chamber in those troublesom times ; his entertainment and favour for the *discontented* and *non-conformists* ; his motions for reformation and alteration in twelve things ; his hasty and unlucky protestation in behalf of the bishops, and following actions in England and Wales, where it's all mens wonder to hear of his *meruit sub parlamento*, had those private grounds and reasons, that if the bishop could have spoke with the king but half an hour, he said, would have satisfied him, the king of kings only knoweth, to whom he hath given, I hope, a better account than any historian of his time hath given for him.

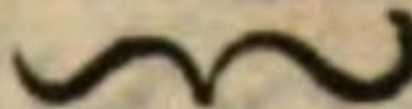
But I understand better his private inclinations, than his publick actions ; the motions of his nature, than those of his power ; the conduct of the one being not more reserved and suspicious, than the effects of the other *manifest*, and *noble* : for not to mention his libraries erected at St.



Char. I. John's and Westminster, his chappel in Lincoln's Colledge; the repairs of his collegiate church: his pensions to scholars more numerous than all the bishops and noble-mens besides; his rent-charges on all the benefices in his gift as lord keeper, or bishop of Lincoln, to maintain hopeful youth, according to the statute in that case provided. Take this remarkable instance of his munificence; that when Du Moulin came over, he calleth his chaplain, now the R. R. father in God, John lord bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and telleth him, he doubted the good man was low, wishing him to repair to him with some money, and his respects, with assurance that he would wait upon him himself at the first leisure.—The excellent doctor rejoyneth, that he could *carry him no less than twenty pounds*; the noble bishop replyeth, *he named not the sum*, to found his chaplains mind;—adding, that twenty pounds was neither fit for him to give, nor for the reverend forreigner to receive. *Carry him*, said he *an hundred pounds*.

He is libelled by common fame for unchaste, though those that understood the privacies and casualties of his infancy, report him but one degreed removed from a Misogynist, though to palliate his infirmities; he was most compleat in courtly addresses: the conversableness of this bishop with women consisted chiefly (if not only) in his treatments of great ladies and persons of honour, wherein he did personate the compleateness of courtesie to that sex; otherwise a woman was seldom seen in his house, which therefore had always more of magnificence than neatness, sometimes defective in the punctilio's and niceties of dain-



daintiness, lying lower than masculine cognizance, Char. 1. and as level for a womans eye to espy, as easie  for her hands to amend.

He suffered for conniving at puritans, out of hatred to bishop Laud; and for favouring papists, out of love to them:—yet whatever he offered king James (when the match went on in Spain) as a counsellour, or whatever he did himself as a states-man; such kindness he had for our liturgy, that he translated it at his own cost into Spanish, and used it in the *visitation* of Melvin when sick, to his own peril, in the *Tower*; and such resolution for episcopacy, that his late majesty of blessed *memory* said once to him; *my lord, I commend you, that you are no whit daunted with all disasters, but are zealous in defending your order.*—Please it your majesty, replied the archbishop, *I am a true Welsh-man, and they are observed never to run away till their general first forsakes them—No fear of my flinching, while your majesty doth countenance our cause.*

His extraction was gentile and ancient, as appeared from his ancestors estate; which was more than he could purchase without borrowing, when at once lord keeper, bishop of Lincoln, and dean of Westminster. His mind great and resolute, insomuch that he controuled all other advices to his last, to his loss in Wales:—and daunted sir John Cook, as you may see in his character to his honour in England.

His *wariness* hath these arguments: 1. That he would not send the seal to the king but under lock and key. 2. That being to depute one to attend in his place at the coronation, he would not name his adversary, bishop of Laud, to gratifie



Char. 1. tifie him; nor yet any other, to displease the king; but took a middle way, and presented his majesty a list of the prebendaries, to avoid any exception, referring the election to his majesty himself. 3. That he proposed a partial reformation of our church to the parliament, to prevent an utter extirpation by it. 4. That he exposed others to the censure of the parliament 1625. to save himself. 5. That he answered to several examinations without any the least advantage taken by his antagonist. This character of his I think very exact: that his head was a well-fitted treasury, and his tongue the fair key to unlock it: that he had as great a memory as could be reconciled with so good a judgement: that so quick his parts, that others study went not beyond his nature; and their designed and forelaid performances, went not beyond his sudden and ready accommodations: only he was very open, and too free in discourse, disdaining to lye at a close guard, as confident of the length and strength of his weapon.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir  
Isaac Wake.*

Lloyd. **T**HIS honourable person whom I look upon at Oxford, in the same capacity and fortune that sir Robert Naunton and sir Francis Netherfole were in at Cambridge. He was born in Northampton-shire, (his father Arthur Wake being



ing parson of Billing, master of the hospital of Char. 1.  
St. Johns in Northampton, and canon of Christs-  
Church) bred fellow of Merton Colledge in Ox-  
ford, protector and orator of that university,  
whence he was admitted secretary to sir Dudley  
Carleton secretary of state, and afterward advanced  
into the king's service, and by his master  
the duke of Buckingham, employed embas-  
sador to Venice, where he neglected his own in-  
terest to attend his majesties employment; the  
reason that he dyed rich onely in the just con-  
science of his worth, and the repute of his merit.  
Coming from Venice, he was appointed lieger of  
France, and designed secretary of state, had not  
death prevented him at Paris; being accom-  
plished with all qualifications requisite for pub-  
lick employment, learning, languages, experi-  
ence, abilities, and what not?

King CHARLES hearing of his death, com-  
manded his corps to be decently brought from  
Paris into England, allowing the expences of his  
funeral, and enjoyning his neereſt relations to at-  
tend the performance thereof. These accord-  
ingly met his body at Bulloign in France, and  
ſaw it ſolemnly conveyed into England, where it  
was interred in the chappel of the caſtle of Do-  
ver. His *REX PLATONICUS*, or his  
Latine account of king James his ſix dayes ſtay  
at Oxford, ſpeaks his learning; and his instruc-  
tions for travel, his experience.—He obſerving  
his predeceſſors failings, retrenching his expen-  
ces, ſatisſying *himſelf* with a repute of nobleneſs,  
while in his way to preferment; and *others* with  
the expectation of his bounty. When preferred,  
he



Char. 1. he seemed liberal, that he might not be *despised* abroad; but he was neer, that he might not be odious at home. His prodigality it may be might have satisfied the curiosity of a few strangers, while he incurred the displeasure of all his friends. Besides, a close and wary man may be bountiful at his pleasure, but the munificent cannot be so easily sparing; for if his occasions or fortunes check his profuseness, all his gallantry is in his first action of good husbandry. Caution in expences, if it be a vice, is one of those, saith the Italian, that never disinherited a man. Nay, of the two, saith Machiavel, *it's more discretion to hold the style of miserable, which begets an infamy without hatred, than to desire that of liberal; which being maintained by necessitous courses, procures an infamy with hatred.* As never did statesman a brave action that *seemed* illiberal, so never did he any such that *was* not so:—yet four things our knight spared no cost in: 1. intelligence; *he could afford* (he said) *a golden key for the pope's cabinet.* 2. Books;—his study was his estate. 3. In watching the Spaniards, saying, *the Indies will pay for this.* And 4. Entertaining knowing men often; applauding the emperour's maxim, *that he had rather go fifty miles to hear a wise man, than five to see a fair city.* And this he was eminent for; that he saw nothing remarkable in foreign parts, that he applyed not to his own countrey: sir Henry Wotton being not more curious in picking up small rarities to pleasure particular persons, than sir Isaac Wake was industrious to observe any useful invention that might improve the publick good.

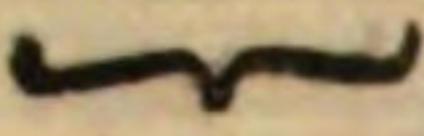


## *Observations on the Life of the Lord Cottington.*

SIR Francis Cottington being bred, when a **Lloyd** youth, under sir ——— Stafford, lived so long in Spain, till he made the garb and gravity of that nation become his, and *become* him too. He raised himself by his natural strength, without any artificial advantage; having his parts above his learning, his experience above his parts, his industry above his experience, and (some will say) his success above all: so that at last he became chancellor of the exchequer, baron of Hanworth in Middlesex, constable of the tower, 1640. and (upon the resignation of doctor Juxon) lord treasurer of England, gaining also a very great estate.

Very reserved he was in his temper, and very slow in his proceedings; sticking to some private principles in both, and aiming at certain rules in all things:—a temper that endeared him as much to his master, prince Charles his *person*, as his integrity did to his *service*;—nor to *his* service only, but to that of the whole nation; in the merchandize whereof he was well versed; to the trade whereof he was very serviceable many ways: but eminently, in that he negotiated, that the Spanish treasure which was used to be sent to Flanders by the way of Genoa, might be sent in English bottoms, which exceedingly enriched England for the time; and had it continued,



Char. I.  nued, had made her the greatest bank and mart for gold and silver of any common-wealth in Europe.

Indeed the advantage of his education, the different nations and factions that he had to deal with, the direct opposition of enemies, the treachery of friends, the contracts of statesmen, the variety and force of experience from the distinct knowledge of the natures of the people of several countreys, of their chief ministers of state, with their intrigues of government, made him so expert, that the earl of Bristol and sir Walter Aston could do nothing without him; and he only could finish that treaty, which they had for many years spun out.

Men take several ways to the ends they propose themselves. Some, that of *confidence*; others, that of *respect* and *caution*, &c. when indeed the main business is, to *suit our selves* with our own times; which this lord did, and no man better, until looking into the depths of the late faction, he declared at the council-table, 1639. that *they aimed at the ruine of church and state*. And viewing the state of the kingdom, he advised; *that leagues might be made abroad*; and, *that in this inevitable necessity, all ways to raise money should be used that were lawful*. Wherefore he was one of those few excluded the indemnity by the faction, and had the honour to dye banished for the best cause and master, in those foreign countries; where he suffered as nobly for the crown of England in his later dayes, as he had acted honourably for it in his former. When he never came off better than in satisfying the Spaniards about



about toleration, reducing the whole of that affair to these two maxims: Char. 1.

1. That consciences were not to be forced, but to be won and reduced by the evidence of truth, with the aid of reason, and in the use of all good means of instruction and perswasion.

2. That the causes of consciences, wherein they exceed their bounds, and grow to matter of faction, lose their nature: and that sovereign princes ought distinctly to punish those foul practices, though overlaid with the fairer pretences of conscience and religion.

One of his maxims for treaty I think remarkable, *viz. That kingdoms are more subject to fear than hope*: and that it's safer working upon them by a power that may awe the one, than by advantages that may excite the other.—Since it's another rule, that states have no affections but interest; and that all kindness and civility in those cases are out *oversight* and *weakness*.

Another of his rules for life I judge useful, *viz. That since no man is absolute in all points, and since men are more naturally enclined out of envy to observe mens infirmities, than out of ingenuity to acknowledge their merit*;—he discovereth his abilities *most*, that *least* discovereth himself. To which I may add another, *viz. That it is not onely our known duty, but our visible advantage, to ascribe our most eminent performances to providence, since it not only takes off the edge of envy, but improves the reason of admiration. None being less maliced, or more applauded than he, who is thought rather happy than able; blessed, than active; and fortunate, than cunning.*

Though



Char. I. Though yet all the caution of his life could not avoid the envy of his advancement from so mean a beginning to so great honours,—notwithstanding that it is no disparagement to any to give place to fresh nobility, who ascend the same steps with those before them. *New* being only a term, faith one, only respecting us, not the world; for what is, was before us, and will be when we are no more: and indeed this personage considering the vanity and inconstancy of common applause or affronts, improved the one, and checked the other, by a constant neglect of both.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir  
Dudly Careleton.*

Lloyd. SIR Dudly Careleton was born in Oxford-shire, bred in Christs-Church in Oxford under dr. King, and afterwards in relation of secretary to sir Ralph Winwood in the low-countreys, where he was very active, when king James resigned the cautionary towns to the states. Here he added so great experience to his former learning, that afterwards our king employed him for twenty years together ambassador in Venice, Savoy, and the United Provinces; Anne Gerard his lady (co-heir to George Gerard esquire) accompanying him in all his travels, as is expressed in her epitaph in Westminster-Abbey. He was by K. Charles the first, to balance the duke of Buckingham's enemies in the house of peers, with the  
lord



lord Mandevil now earl of Manchester, and the Char. 1.  
 lord Grandison, created baron of Imbercourt in  
 Surry, and afterwards viscount Dorchester, mar-  
 rying for his second wife the daughter of sir  
 Henry Glenham, the relict of Paul, viscount  
 Banning, who survived him. He succeeded the  
 lord Conway, (when preferred president to the  
 council, in the secretary ship of state, being  
 sworn at *White-Hall*, December 14. 1628, and  
 dying without issue, *Anno Dom.* 163—much ado  
 he had to remove a state-jealousie that was upon  
 him; that he insisted on the restitution of some  
 towns in Cleves and Juliers, to gratifie the Spa-  
 niards at that time in treaty with us: more to re-  
 move a church-jealousie, that in negotiating an  
 accommodation in religion, he designed the un-  
 dermining of the remonstrants then in so much  
 power there: in which matter he was at a loss,  
 whether his majesty should interpose by letter or  
 message: the former he said was most effectual,  
 but the latter less subject to misconstruction, con-  
 sidering Barnevel's interest in the state—but he  
 had a chaplain, one mr. Hales, that kept this  
 controverſie even on the one hand, while he ba-  
 lanced the state-interest on the other; equally  
 careful that the United Provinces should not be  
 over-run by the armies of Spain, and that they  
 should not be swallowed up by the protection of  
 France.

*Watchful* was his eye there over the *West-India*  
*Company*; *Diligent* his carriage upon any accom-  
 modations from Spain; which he apprehended  
 always as a design to distract that people then in  
 regard of their unsettledness, but too apt upon  
 any dispute to fall into faction: *Great* his industry



Char. 1. in reconciling sir Horace Vere and sir Edward Cecil for the honour of the English nation, and the advancement of the common service; sincere his services to the prince elector, and his lady.

Exact his rules of traffique and commerce, and dexterous his arts of keeping the states from new alliances, notwithstanding our likely marriage-treaty with Spain, especially since the prince of Orange bluntly (after his manner) asked, *Que at' il vostre Marriage?*—And indeed he behaved himself in all employments so well becoming a man that understood so many languages, that was so well versed in antient and modern history, that had composed so many choice pieces of politicks, that was so well seen in the most practical mathematicks; and added to these a graceful and charming look, a gentle and a sweet elocution; that notwithstanding his, and his brother bishop Carleton's rigidness in some points, kept him to his dying-day in great favour and most eminent service; and failing in nothing but his French embassy, because there he had to do with women. Leaving behinde him this observation; *That new Common-wealths are hardly drawn to a certain resolution; as who knowing not how to determine, and remaining onely in suspence, take ordinarily that course rather which they are forced to, than what they might choose for themselves.*—And this eminent service when he assisted the earl of Holland in France, viz That he pacified the high difference there, upon which the revolt of the *Hugonots* depended, and put a real resolution in king Lewis to advance against the Valtoline and Spain by the advantage of the league



league with England : proceeding upon this Char. 1. maxim with that king ; *They that have respect to few things, are easily misled..*

I had almost forgot, how this lord finding that want of treasure at home, was the ground of our unsuccessful and despicableness abroad ; and that *Principe senza quatrius e come un muro senza crole da tulls scompigliato* ; that a prince without money is like a wall without a Cross, for every one to draw upon ; did mention the excise in the parliament-house, and in no ill meaning neither, and was violently cryed to the bar : and though a person of that eminence, as being then a privy-councillor, and principal secretary of state, he hardly escaped being committed to the tower :—so odious was that *Dutch-Devil* (as they called it) in the excellent king Charles, which was raised by the beloved parliament, with many more that were conjured up in three or four years, but not likely to be laid in three or fourscore.

Living in those times when weak men imagined to themselves some unknown blifs from untried governments, and considering that alterations countervail not their own dangers, and as they bring little good to any, so they bring least of all to those that first promoted them ; this lord refused to be the mouth of the zealous multitude (whose rage could neither be well opposed, nor joined with) whom a pardon or compliance might bring off, leaving their demagogues to compound for their folly with their ruine ; choos- ing rather to be patient, than active, and appear weak, than be troublesom ; and once resolved upon an exact survey of circumstances for power against the faults of it on the one hand, and the



Char. 1. affronts of it on the other, he gained the esteem  
 of all parties by his fidelity to his own. I am  
 much taken with his plain saying, which I find  
 of late printed ; *There will be mistakes in Divinity  
 while men preach, and errors in Government while  
 such govern* : and more with his method of pro-  
 ceeding in his affairs, whereof he laid first an  
 idea in his own mind, and then improved it by  
 debate ; the result whereof was usually so com-  
 pleat, as shewed the vast difference between the  
 shallow conception of one man, and the deep  
 judgment of many.

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*Observations on the Lives of Sir  
 Richard, and Sir Jerome Weston,  
 Earls of Portland.*

Lloyd. SIR Richard Weston in his youth impaired  
 his estate, to improve himself with publick  
 accomplishment, but came off both a saver and  
 a gainer at the last, when made chancellor of the  
 exchequer, and afterwards (upon the remove of  
 the earl of Marlborough) July 15. in the fourth  
 of king Charles, lord treasurer of England.

His activity in parliament made him consider-  
 able at court, none fitter to serve a prince than  
 he who commands the humor of the people.  
 Indeed where ever he was, he discovered him-  
 self able and faithful. 1. In his foreign employ-  
 ments, his judgement was searching, and reach  
 ad-



admirable, he being the first that smelt out the Char. I. intentions against the palatinate; which were then in brewing, and mashed with much art. In his domestick charge, his artifice was singular, both in a faithful improvement of the incomes, and a discreet moderation of the expences in his masters revenues.—In his aspect, there was a mixture of authority and modesty; in his apprehensions, quickness and solidity; in his port and train, a suitable dignity and correspondence, with little noise and outward form: an enemy to complements, yet very courteous: no flatterer, yet of great power: irreconcilable to frothy formality, yet maintaining a due regard to his person and place. A great scholar he was, and yet a great states-man; of various erudition, and as large observation.—He secured himself much by alliances with the best nobility, more by the love, and (what is more) the esteem of a constant king; it being one of the wonders of that time, that my lord of Canterbury and he, who were at so much distance from one another, should be so inward with their sovereign, but that that excellent prince measured not his affections to his dependants so much by a particular interest, as by a publick serviceableness.—The necessity of the exchequer put him upon some ways of supply that displeased the rabble; though his three particular cares, viz. The paying of the navy, the satisfying of the city, and the queen of Bohemia's supply (three things he was very much intent upon while treasurer) obliged the wiser sort of men. I know nothing he was defective in, being careful (to use his own words) to perform all duties, with *obedience to his Majesty,*



Char. 1.*ty*, *respect to the Duke, and justice to the particular*  
*parties concerned*;—but that he had so much of  
 his master's love, and so little of his patience,  
 being grated (as all statesmen are that have to do  
 with various interests and humours) between a  
 strong inclination of satisfying every man, and  
 the impossibility of pleasing all: considering the  
 importunities of persons and affairs, a little im-  
 patience must needs fall “upon your lordship  
 “ (writes sir Harry Wotton to him) unless you  
 “ had been cut out of a rock of diamonds, espe-  
 “ cially having been before so conversant with  
 “ liberal studies, and with the freedom of your  
 “ own mind.

In his time was the great question agitated;  
*Whether a Prince should aim at the fear, or the love*  
*of his people?*—Although no prince did more to  
 oblige his people, than the excellent king Charles  
 the I. yet was there no prince ever more advised to  
 awe them: for this lord, and many more, who  
 looked upon over-much indulgence as the greatest  
 cruelty, considering that men love at their own plea-  
 sure, and to serve their own turn, and that their  
 fear depends upon the princes pleasure, were of  
 opinion; that every wise prince ought to ground  
 upon that which is of himself, and not upon that  
 which is of another: government being set up in  
 the world, rather to trust its own power, than  
 stand upon others courtesie.

Besides, two things the vulgar are taken with:  
 1. Appearance. 2. The event of things; which  
 if successful, gains both their *love* and *reverence*.  
 Neither was the father more exact in his maxims  
 than the son in his, of whose many infallible  
 principles this was one; *That it was the safest*  
*way*



*way for the King's Majesty to proceed upon a Declaration, that the Faction at Westminster was no Parliament, upon his own and his most loyal Lords and Commons removal to Oxford. And this another ; That provided the Gentry and Clergy were well principled, and His Majesty that now is had a constant correspondence with the most eminent of them, it was our Interest to promote his Majesties grandeur abroad, and sit still at home, until the Faction might be so secure as to divide——and his majesties interest became so conspicuous by the principles that were kept up at home, and the state that was born abroad, as to command all. And really his little saying hath much in it ;—He that will see what shall be, let him consider what hath been : for there are the same desires, humours, and interest in every age, that were before it : so that as *Machiavel* observeth, it is very easie for him, that with diligence examineth “ past occurrences, to serve himself of those remedies “ which were in use among the ancients ; or if “ they fail, to devise what is most like them.*

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### *Observations on the Life of William Earl of Pembroke.*

**H**E was an ancient gentleman of good repute, Lloyd. and therefore well *esteemed* ; a proper person, well set, and of graceful deportment, and therefore well beloved of king James and queen Anne : his inclination was as generous as his extraction,



Char. 1. traction, and manners ancient as his family.  
 { One of his ancestors is renowned, for that he would condescend to deliver his embassies in no language but Welch ; and he is commended for that he would comply with no customs in his converse but the old English,—though his contemporaries make that his defect rather than his ornament ; proceeding from his want of travel, rather than his observance of antiquity : he having had only (saith the historian) the breeding of England, which gave him a conceited dislike of foreign men, their manners “ and mode ; or “ of such English as professed much advantage “ thereby : so that the Scots and he were ever “ separate ; and therefore he was the only old “ courtier that kept close to the commonalty, “ and they to him, though never suspected by either of his sovereigns ; not because he was not over-furnished with abilities (as that pen insinuates) to be *more* than loyal, but because he had too much integrity to be less. Being munificent and childless, the university of Oxford hoped to be his executor, and Pembroke-Colledge his heir. Pembroke-Colledge, I say, called so not only in respect *to*, but also in expectation from *him*, then chancellor of the university : and probably had not our noble lord died suddenly soon after (according as a fortune-teller had informed him, whom he laughed at that very night he departed, being his birth-night) this colledge might have received more than a bare name from him.

“ He was (saith one of his own time) the very “ picture, and *Viva Effigies* of nobility ; his person rather majestick than elegant ; his presence, whether quiet, or in motion, full of “ state-



“ stately gravity ; his mind generous, and pure-Char. I.  
 “ ly heroick ; often stout, but never disloyal :  
 “ so vehement an opponent of the Spaniard, as  
 “ when that match fell under consideration, he  
 “ would sometimes rouze to the trepidation of  
 “ king James, yet kept in favour still ; for that  
 “ king knew plain dealing, as a jewel in all men,  
 “ so was in a privy-councillor an ornamental du-  
 “ ty. An instance of his familiar converse with  
 “ king James, was, that the king observing that  
 “ he naturally hated a frog, threw one into his  
 neck ; and he in requital, caused a pig (of an  
 equal disgust with the same prince) to be put  
 under his close-stool : where, though it produ-  
 ced no extraordinary ill effect for the present,  
 yet after the prank had been descanted upon, and  
 worst of interpretations made by some (the title  
 of Jews being at that time bestowed on the Scots)  
 the king was much affected with it ; and the  
 more, because it was done at Wilton the earls  
 own house.—Though kings when free and socia-  
 ble, “ break out to sprightful and facetious ex-  
 “ travagancies with courtiers, yet must they not  
 “ presume, lest their words are interpreted, not  
 “ by their meaning, but others jealousy : free  
 “ spirits cannot be too circumspect. And the  
 “ same true-heartedness commended him to king  
 “ Charles, with whom he kept a most admirable  
 “ correspondence, and yet stood the firm confi-  
 “ dent of the commonalty ; and that not by a  
 “ sneaking cunning, but by an erect and gene-  
 “ rous prudence, such as rendred him as unsus-  
 “ pected of ambition on the one side, as of fac-  
 “ tion on the other ; being generally beloved and  
 “ regarded.



*Observations on the Life of the  
Lord Conway.*

Lloyd. **E**Dward lord Conway succeeded to his father's martial skill and valour, who was under the earl of Leicester, governour of Ostend, and twisted therewith peaceable policy in state-affairs, so that the gown and the sword met in him in most eminent proportion, and thereupon king James advanced him one of the principal secretaries of state. For these his good services, he was by him created lord Conway of Ragleigh in this county, and afterwards by king Charles viscount Killultagh in the county of Antrim; and lastly, in the third of king Charles, viscount Conway of Conway in Carnarvonshire; England, Ireland, and Wales mutually embracing themselves in his honours: and not long after, president of the council. Upon the breach with Spain, king James and the duke of Buckingham both judged it very convenient to have a martial secretary; neither was there any man fitter for their turn than this gentleman, who was as able to direct them in the affairs of war abroad, as he was ready to be directed by them in those of peace at home: being one of those three remarkable servants that king James used to jest upon, *viz.* a lord treasurer [meaning the earl of Suffolk] that could not cast account, a chaplain [meaning doctor Pre-



Preston] that could not read \* prayers, and a se- Char. 1.  
cretary [meaning this lord] that could not write  
his name. Sir Richard Weston beat the bush in  
the affair of the palatinate, but sir Edward cat-  
ched the hare; his rough humour being more  
suitable to that business: or indeed it having  
been always more successful to be bold, than  
wary; to be free for all occasions, than to be ob-  
stinate to some rules.—Fortune (saith Machiavel)  
is a mistress, that is sooner won by those that ruffle  
and force her, than by others that proceed cold-  
ly. Indeed he was charged with treachery and  
cowardize in the action against the Scots, 1640.  
but he came off with his honest animosity, say-  
ing, *If he might but fight their whole army, he  
would settle Scotland in six months, or lose his  
head*—being in that, of my lord of Canterbury's  
opinion, who assured his majesty they would not  
hold out four: a motion! that if as easily enter-  
tained by that gracious king as it was effectually  
pursued by the bloody usurpers, as sad experience  
hath taught us and them, would have prevented  
much mischief there, more here; especially since  
it was that wise prince his judicious observation,  
that they and their confederates were a people  
*lost by favour, and won by punishment.*

Obser-

\* Being not used to the Common-Prayer.



## *Observations on the Lives of the Digges.*

Lloyd.

**M**After Leonard Digges was one of excellent Learning and deep judgement. His mind most inclined him to the mathematicks, and he was the best architect in that age for all manner of buildings, for conveniency, pleasure, state, strength, being excellent at fortifications. Lest his learning should dye with him, for the publick profit, he printed his Tectonicon, Prognoftick General, Stratiotick, about the ordering of an army, and other works. He flourished Anno Dom. 1556. and dyed I believe about the reign of queen Elizabeth, when as in most growing times arts were drowned in action.

Nothing else have I to observe of his name, save that hereditary learning may seem to run in the veins of his family; witness sir Dudly Digges of Chilham-castle, made master of the rolls, in the year 1636. whose abilities will not be forgotten, whilst our age hath any remembrance. This knight had a younger son, of a most excellent wit, and a great judgment, fellow of All-Souls in Oxford, who in the beginning of our civil wars wrote so subtile and solid a treatise of the difference between king and parliament, that such royalists who have since handled that controverfie, have written *plura non plus*; yea *aliter* rather than



than *alia* of that subject. The son writes down Char. 1. those rebellions that the father countenanced: the father, I say, who by a bold impeachment against his majesties chief minister of state, to his face, taught a discontented people to draw a bolder against his majesty himself:—wherefore it was, that (after his undutiful prologue against his majesties prerogative in favouring his servants; the preface to more disloyal methods against his right, in governing his people) he and sir John Elliot were whispered out of the lords house, when they were hottest against the duke, to speak with a gentleman, and thence sent immediately by two pursevants that attended, to the Tower; where, and in the country, this gentleman lay under just displeasure, until it was thought fit to take off so dangerous a piece of boldness and eloquence upon the growing distempers of the age by favour and preferment, to a neutrality at least, if not to the just measures of his duty. But our observation here is this; that faction is one of those sins, whereof the authors repent most commonly themselves, and their posterities are always ashamed.

Obfer-



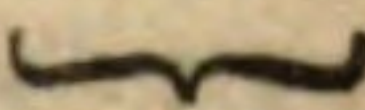


*Observations on the Life of Sir  
Thomas Ridly, Dr. LL.*

Lloyd.

**T**HIS knight and doctor was born at Ely in Cambridge-shire, bred first a scholar at Eaton in Buckingham-shire, then fellow of Kings-Colledge in Cambridge. He was a general scholar in all kind of learning, especially in that which we call *Melior Literatura*. He afterwards was chancellor of Winchester, and vicar-general to the arch-bishop of Canterbury. His memory will never dye, whilst his book called *The view of the Ecclesiastical Laws* is living; a book of so much merit, that the common lawyers (notwithstanding the difference betwixt the professions) will ingenuously allow a due commendation to his learned performance in that subject: although it startled them to hear king James was so affected with it, insomuch that sir Edward Coke undertook from thence to prophecy the *decay* of the *common-law*: though in that prophecy of his, others foresaw nothing but his *fall*. Never book came out more seasonably for the church than this; never comment came out more suitably, than mr. Gregories notes upon it: he writ *well*, and *advised* better: being good to *give*, better to *manage* counsel; which he never offered till called, and never urged longer than it pleased; answering no question of consequence unless upon emergent occasion, without deliberation; ob-  
serving



serving the design of people, that ask most com-Char. I.  
monly to try his sufficiency, as well as improve   
their own: however, being sure that time is like-  
lier to increase than abate the weight of a result,  
discovering as well what may be returned suita-  
bly to the general temper, as what may be an-  
swered fitly to the particular instance.

What alterations he designed for the churches  
benefit, were not *sodain*, but *leisurely*. To force  
men out of one extreimity into another, is an at-  
tempt as dangerous, as it is invidious; as awa-  
kening most opposition, and obnoxious to most  
hazard. Wise \* Tacitus observeth, that men  
have reformed inveterate habits more by yield-  
ing to them, than engaging against them; tho'  
a man must so yield as not to *encourage*, while he  
doth so *countermine*, as not to *exasperate*: al-  
though he was *always able*, yet was he *never*  
*willing* to mend the copy his superiors had set  
him, unless owned as from former instruction,  
lest they grew jealous, he valued his own expe-  
rience before theirs, who measure mens sufficien-  
cy from their caution, and not from their parts;  
from what they can forbear, rather than from  
what they can do.

To conclude, he was one of those able men  
that cannot be *eminent*, unless they be *great*:  
men of great merit, behave themselves so negli-  
gently in small affairs, as that you shall never un-  
derstand their abilities, unless you advance their  
persons. Mens capacities and sufficiencies have  
certain bounds prescribed them; within the li-  
mits of which they are able to acquit themselves  
with credit and applause: but if you advance  
them

\* In Tiberio.



Char. 1. them above, or depress them below their spheres, they shew nothing but debilities and miscarriages. Onely this he was always commended for; that having the management of affairs intrusted to him, he underwent all the miscarriages himself, ascribing all the honour and sufficiency to his patron; carrying his hand in all actions so, that his master had the applause of whatever was either conceded or denyed in publick, without any other interruption from mr. Ridly, than what became the bare instrument of his commands, however he ordered the matter in private.

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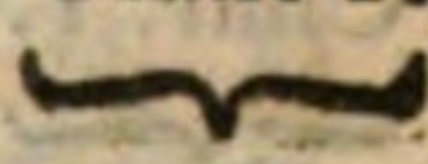
*Observations on the Life of Sir  
Henry Martin.*

Lloyd.

HE would merrily say, that if his father had left him fourscore pounds a year, where he left him but forty, he would never have been a scholar, but have lived on his lands: whereas his inheritance being a large encouragement, but a small *maintenance*, he made up in study what he wanted in estate; first at Winchester, and then at New-Colledge, where his inclination led him to divinity, but bishop Andrews his advice perswaded him to the *Civil Law*, wherein he attained that great proficiency he was eminent for, thus:—

“ He had weekly transmitted to him from  
“ some proctors at Lambeth, the brief heads of  
“ the most important causes which were to be  
“ tryed



“ tryed in the high-commission. Then with Char. 1.  
 “ some of his familiar friends in that faculty,   
 “ he privately pleaded those causes; acting in  
 “ their *Chamber* what was done in the court:  
 “ but mr. Martin making it his work, exceed-  
 “ ed the rest in amplifying and aggravating any  
 “ fault, to move anger and indignation against  
 “ the guilt thereof; or else in extenuating or ex-  
 “ cusing it, to procure pity, obtain pardon, or  
 “ at least prevail for a lighter punishment:—  
 whence no cause came amiss to him in the *High-Commission*: for, saith my author, he was not to make new armour, but only to put it on, and buckle it: not to invent, but apply arguments to his clients.—As in decision of controversies in his courts, he had a moderate and middle way: so in managing of affairs in parliament, he had a healing method: whence in most debates with the lords, where mr. Noy’s law and reason could not *convince*, sir Henry Martin’s \* expedients could *accommodate*. For which services, and his other merits, he was made judge of the *Prerogative-court* for probate of wills, and of the *Admiralty* for *foreign trade*. Whence king JAMES would say merrily, *He was a mighty monarch by sea and land, over the dead and the living.*

VOL. II.

R

Obser-

\* As about the Petition of Right, in Reference to which, he and Sergeant Glanville satisfied the Lords.



## *Observations on the Life of Sir John Bramstone.*

Lloyd.

SIR John Bramstone, knight, was born at Maldon in Essex, bred up in the middle-Temple in the study of the common-law, wherein he attained to such eminency, that he was by king Charles made lord chief justice of the king's-bench.

One of deep learning, solid judgement, integrity of life, gravity of behaviour, above the envy of his own age, and the scandal of posterity. One instance of his I must not forget, writes the historian effectually, relating to the foundation wherein I was bred: serjeant Bruerton by will bequeathed to Sidney-Colledge well-nigh three thousand pounds, but (for haste, or some other accident) it was so imperfectly done, that (as dr. Sam. Ward informed me) the gift was invalid in the rigour of the law. Now judge Bramstone, who married the serjeants widow, gave himself much trouble (gave himself indeed, doing all things *gratis*) for the speedy payment of the money to a farthing, and the legal settling thereof on the colledge, according to the true intention of the dead. He deserved to live in better times. The delivering his judgement on the king's side in the case of ship-money, cost him much trouble, and brought him much honour, as who under-



derstood the consequence of that maxime, \* *Sa-Char. 1.*  
*lus populi suprema lex*; and that ship-money was  
 thought legal by the best lawyers, voted down  
 arbitrarily by the worst parliament: they hearing  
 no counsel for it, though the king heard all men  
 willingly against it. Yea, that parliament thought  
 themselves not secure from it, unless the king  
 renounced his right to it by a new act of his own.  
 Men have a touch-stone to try gold, and gold is  
 the touch-stone to try men. Sir William Noy's  
 gratuity shewed, that this judges *inclination* was  
 as much above corruption as his *fortune*; and  
 that he would not, as well as *needed* not, *be* base.  
 Equally intent was he upon the interest of the  
 state and the maxims of law, as which mutually  
 supported each other.—He would never have a  
 witness interrupted, or helped, but have the pa-  
 tience to hear a naked, though a tedious truth:  
 the best gold lyeth in the most ore, and the clea-  
 rest truth in the most simple discourse. When  
 he put on his robes, he put off respects; his pri-  
 vate affections being swallowed up in the publick  
 service. This was the judge whom *popularity*  
 could never flatter to any thing *unsafe*, nor fa-  
 vour oblige to any thing *unjust*. Therefore he  
 died in peace, 1645. when all others were enga-  
 ged in a war, and shall have the reward of his  
 integrity of the judge of judges at the great affize  
 of the world.

Having lived as well as read Justinian's maxime Admin.  
 to the prætor of *Laconia*; *All things which ap-* Card. de  
*pertain to the well-government of a state, are or-* Rich. p.  
*dered by the constitutions of kings, that give life* 283.  
*and vigour to the law: whereupon, whoso would*

R 2

walk

\* The Safety of the People is the first Law.



Char. I. *walk wisely, shall never fail, if he propose them both for the rule of his actions;—for a king is the living law of his countrey.*

Nothing troubled him so much as (shall I call it?) the shame, or the fear of the consequence of the unhappy contest between his excellent majesty and his meaner subjects in the foresaid case of ship-money; no enemy being contemptible enough to be despised, since the most despicable command greater strength, wisdom, and interest than their own, to the designs of malice or mischief.—A great man managed a quarrel with Archee the king's fool; but by endeavouring to explode him the court, rendered him at last so considerable, by calling the enemies of that person (who were not a few) to his rescue, as the fellow was not onely able to continue the dispute for divers years, but received such encouragement from standers by (the instrument of whose malice he was) as he oft broke out in such reproaches, as neither the dignity of that excellent person's calling, nor the greatness of his parts, could in reason or manners admit:—but that the wise man  
 “ discerned, that all the fool did was but a symp-  
 “ tom of the strong and inveterate distemper  
 “ raised long since in the hearts of his countrey-  
 “ men against the great mans person and func-  
 “ tion.

Obser-



## *Observations on the Life of Sir Augustine Nicols.*

**SIR** August. Nicols, son to Tho. Nicols, serjeant at law, was born at Ecton in Northampton-shire. Now though according to the rigour of our fundamental premises, he be not within our cognifance under this title, yet his merit will justifie us in presenting his character. He was bred in the study of the common law, wherein he attained to such knowledge, that queen Elizabeth made him, and K. James continued him his own serjeant, whence he was freely preferred one of the judges of the common-pleas. I say freely, king James commonly calling him the judge that would give no money. Not to speak of his moral qualifications; and subordinate abilities; he was renowned for his special judiciary endowments; of very calm affections and moderate passions; of a grave and affable deportment; of a great patience to hear both parties all they could say; a happy memory; a singular sagacity to search into the material circumstances; exemplary integrity, even to the rejection of gratuities after judgement given, and a charge to his followers, that they came to their places clear-handed, and that they should not meddle with any motions to him, that he might be secured from all appearance of corruption. His forbearing to travel on the lords day, wrought a reformation



Char. information on some of his own order. Very pitiful and tender he was in case of life, yet very exact in case of blood.

He loved plain and profitable preaching, being wont to say, *I know not what you call preaching, but I like them that come neereſt to my conſcience.* The ſpeech of Cæſar is commonly known; \* *Oportet imperatorem ſtantem mori*; which biſhop Jewel altered and applyed to himſelf, † *Decet episcopum concionantem mori*: of this man it may be ſaid, ‡ *Judex mortuus eſt jura dans*; dying in his calling, as he went the Northern circuit, and hath a fair monument in Kendal-church in Weſtmerland. This I obſerve of this good man; that he was ſo good a man, that in the ruſſling times he could be but a bad magiſtrate, *Cum vel exeunda ſit natura, vel minuenda dignitas*: when he muſt either go out of his eaſie nature, or forego his juſt authority.

## Observations on the Life of Sir Nich. Hyde.

Lloyd.

SIR Nicholas Hyde was born at Warder in Wiltſhire, where his father in right of his wife had a long leaſe of that caſtle from the family of the Arundels. His father, I ſay (deſcend-  
ed

\* An Emperor ought to die ſtanding.

† A Biſhop ought to die preaching.

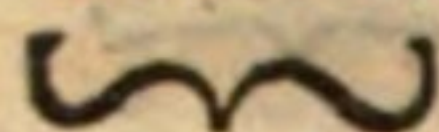
‡ A Judge upon his Death-bed giving Law.



ed from an ancient family in Cheshire) a fortunate gentleman in all his children, (and more in his grand-children) some of his under-boughs out-growing the top-branch, and younger children (amongst whom sir Nicholas) in wealth and honour exceeding the rest of his family. Char. 1.

He was bred in the middle-Temple, and was made serjeant at law the first of February, 1626. and on the eighth day following was sworn lord chief-justice of the Kings-bench, succeeding in that office, next save one unto his country-man sir James Ley (then alive, and preferred lord treasurer, born within two miles one of another) and next of all under sir Francis Crew lately displaced. Now, though he entred on his place with some disadvantage (sir Randal being generally popular) and though in those dayes, it was hard for the same person to please court and country, yet he discharged his office with laudable integrity, until 1631. Prudence obligeth princes to refer the management of affairs to persons who have the reputation of extraordinary honesty, especially to the transacting of such things which notwithstanding their innate justice, may provoke any evil spirits.—The most part of mankind guessing only by their own senses and apprehensions, judge of the affairs by the persons who conduct them. Opinion guideth the world, and the reputation of him that negotiateth, sets a value and price upon his words and actions; and the opinion which is conceived of him is so absolute an umpire, that there is no appeal from his judgement—opinion is the strongest thing in the world, truth the next.





## *Observations on the Life of* *Sir Walter Aston.*

Lloyd.

**H**E was a gentleman of so much diligence in the Spanish negotiations, that there were no orders, cabals, consultations in that intricate time, &c. he was not acquainted with: of so much resolution, that there was not a dangerous message in that great business he would not *deliver*: of that excellent converse, that there was not that minister of state in that jealous court he was not familiar with. Very observant he was, by Don Juan Taxardoes means, of the Spanish *proceedings*, and as well skilled with the duke of Buckingham's direction in the English; though yet he confessed himself almost lost in those intrigues, had not the duke stood between him and the kings displeasure that suspected him, and the prince his jealousy that feared him. [He had need have a steady head, that looks into such depths:] but as he had an excellent faculty of excusing others miscarriages, so he had a peculiar way of salving his own; being advantaged with a great foresight, a deep reservedness, and a ready spirit.

Few understood better the importance of the English trade with Spain: none pursued more diligently its priviledges and freedom: tracing most of the secret counsels and resolutions so closely, that he was able with his industry and money to  
give



give an account of most proceedings.—In the management whereof he resigned himself to the duke's disposal, professing to own no judgement or affection but what was guided by his direction. — His own words are these; *Until I know by your graces favour by what compass to guide my course, I can only follow his majesties revealed will:—*and the duke's answer this; *You desire me to give you my opinion; my ancient acquaintance, long custom of loving you, with constancy of friendship, invites me to do you this office of good will.*

My lord of Bristol shuffled the cards well, but Sir Walter Aston played them best.—The first set a design, but the second pursued it,—being happy in an humble and respectful carriage; which opened the breast, and unlocked the hearts of all men to him. *He that looked downward saw the stars in the water: but he who looked only upward, could not see the waters in the stars.*

Indeed there was in his countenance such a throne of sweetness, and his words had so powerful a charm, set off with so agreeable and taking gravity, that the *respect* due to him was not lost in the *love* he had deserved; nor the *love* he attained to, abated by the *respect* he commanded; being one that had and gave infinite satisfaction in the negotiations he engaged in: wherein among other things, he would urge how unpolitic, and unsuccessful it is for the Spaniard to meditate a conquest of Europe, where all his neighbours oppose him, rather than Asia, where they would all joyn with him out of interest and conscience both to secure him from France, and carry him towards Turkey, at whose doors his friend the emperour was ready to attack them upon



*Char. 1.* upon any mutiny or rebellion then frequent among them, whose strength (saith Machiavel) lyeth more in tradition than in any real truth:— considering the contrary complexions of the people in point of interest and religion, that can admit of no considerable coalition upon the approach of a foreign impression.

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*Observations on the Life of  
Sir Julius Cæsar.*

Lloyd.

SIR Julius Cæsar's father being physitian to qu. Elizabeth, and descended of the ancient family of the Dalmarii in Italy, then living at Tottenham neer London; this his son was bred in Oxford; and after other intermediate preferments, was advanced chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaster, and sworn a privy-councillor on *Sunday* the sixth of *July*, 1607. and afterwards was preferred master of the rolls. A person of prodigious bounty to all of worth or want, so that he might seem to be almoner-general of the nation. The story is well known, of a gentleman who once borrowing his coach (which was as well known to poor people as any hospital in England) was so rendezvouz'd about with beggars in London, that it cost him all the money in his purse to satisfie their importunity, so that he might have hired twenty coaches on the same terms. Sir Francis Bacon lord Verulam was judicious in his election, when perceiving his dissolution



solution to approach, he made his last bed in effect in the house of Sir Julius. Char. 1.

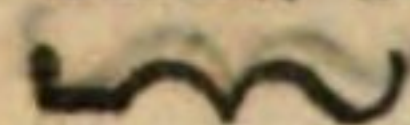
He continued more than twenty years Mr. of the rolls ; and though heaved at by some expectants, fate still in his place, well poised therein, with his gravity and integrity. *Vir tantarum eleemosynarum non movebitur* ; a man of so great alms and prayers (made by him and for him) shall not be removed. Nor was it without a prosperous omen, that his chief house in Hartfordshire was called Benington, that is, *Villa benigna*, the bountiful village, as one author will have it ; or as another, *Villa beneficii*, the town of good turns, from the river so named running by it. His arms were these, viz. gules, three roses argent on a chief of the first, so many roses of the second, emblemizing the fragrancy of the memory he hath left behind him.

His monument in great St. Hellens, London, being out of the road of ordinary fancies, was thus designed by himself in form of a deed in ruffled parchment, in allusion to his office as master of the rolls.

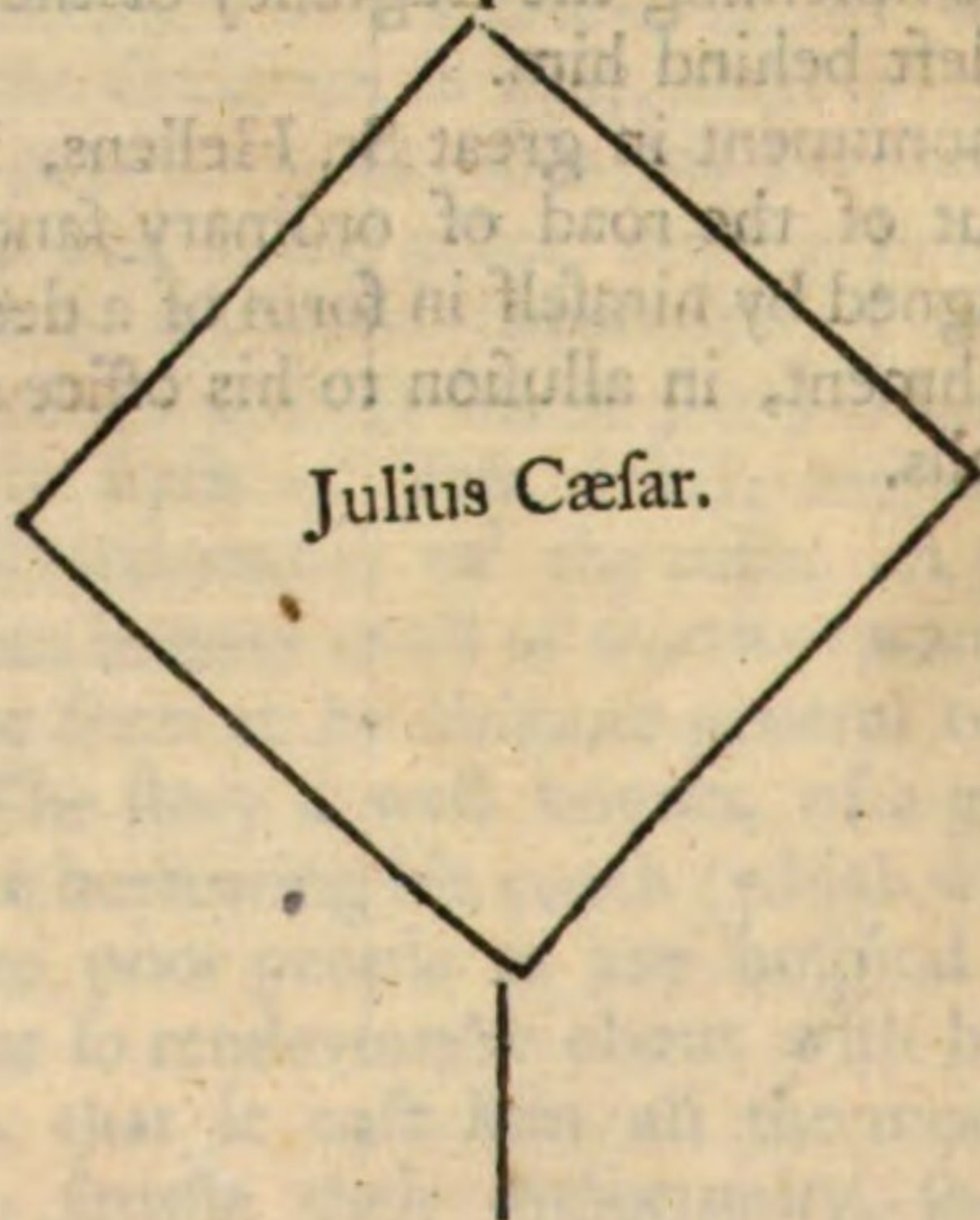
*Omnibus*



Char. I.



**O**mnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos hoc præsens  
Scriptum pervenerit; Sciatis me Julium Dal-  
mare alias Cæsarem Militem, utriusque legis Doc-  
torem; Elizabethæ Reginae Supremæ Curiae Ad-  
miralitatis judicem, & unum e Magistris libello-  
rum; Jacobo Regi à Privatis Conciliis, Cancel-  
larium Scaccarii, Scriniorum Magistrum, hac præ-  
senti Charta mea Confirmasse me Annuente Divino  
Numine naturæ debitum libenter solviturum quam  
primum Deo placuerit. In cuius rei memoriam,  
Manum meam, & Sigillum apposui. Datum 27  
Februarii, 1635.

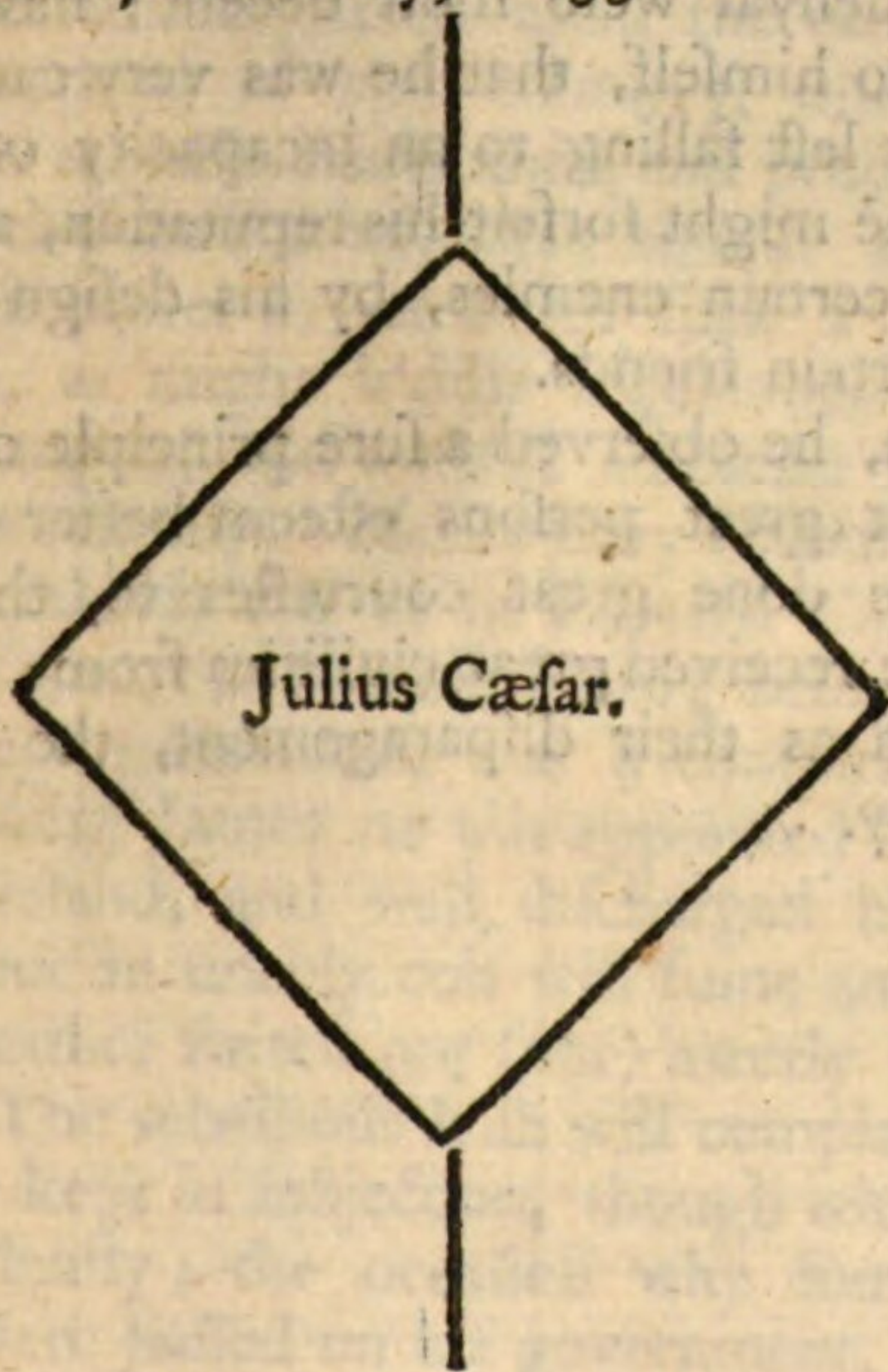


Here his seal or coat of arms is affixed, and  
beneath them is written

*Irrotulatur Cælo.*



**T**O all faithful christians to whom these presents shall come. Know ye that I Julius Dalmare, alias Cæsar, knight, doctor of laws, judge of the high court of admiralty and master of requests to queen Elizabeth, privy counselor, chancellor of exchequer, and master of the rolls to king James, do by these presents declare, that I will chearfully pay the debt I owe to nature, when ever it shall please God to appoint it. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, dated 27 February, 1635.



It is enrolled in Heaven.

He



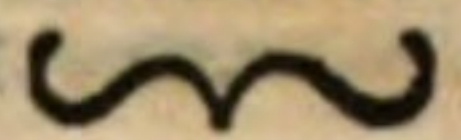
Char. I.

He dyed the twenty eighth day of *April, Anno Domini, 1636.* in the seventy ninth year of his age. They say of witches, that they are unable to hurt till they have received an alms. It's certain, none ever undermined this gentleman's insufficiency, but such as were advanced by his civility; a civility that *secured him*, as well as it *impowered them*, making his grants to all persons double kindnessees by *Expedition*, and cloathing his very denials in such robes of courtship, as that it was not obviously discernable whether the request or denial were most decent; having this peculiar to himself, that he was very cautious of promises, lest falling to an incapacity of performance, he might forfeit his reputation, and multiply his certain enemies, by his design of creating uncertain friends.

Besides, he observed a sure principle of rising, *viz.* That great persons esteem better of such they have done great courtesies to, than those they have received great civilities from; looking upon this as their disparagement, the other as their glory.

Obfer-

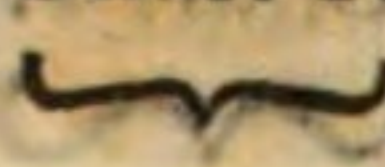




*Observations on the Lives of Sir  
Henry, Sir Lucius, Sir Henry  
Cary, Lords Viscounts Faulk-  
land.*

**A** Race of accomplished men, the ornaments Lloyd.  
and supports of their countrey, which they  
served with no lesse faithfulness and prudence in  
their negotiations abroad, than honour and jus-  
tice in their places at home: of such a stock of  
reputation, as might kindle a generous emula-  
tion in strangers, and a noble ambition in those  
of their own family. Henry Cary viscount Falk-  
land in Scotland, son to sir Edward Cary, was  
born at Aldnam in Hertfordshire; being a most  
accomplished gentleman, and a compleat cour-  
tier. By king James he was appointed lord de-  
puty of Ireland, and well discharged his trust  
therein: but an unruly colt will fume and chafe  
(though neither switch nor spur) meerly because  
back'd. The rebellious Irish will complain, on-  
ly because kept in subjection, though with never  
so much lenity; the occasion why some hard  
speeches were passed on his government. Some  
beginning to counterfeit his hand, he used to in-  
corporate the year of his age in a knot flourished  
beneath his name, concealing the day of his  
birth to himself. Thus by comparing the date  
of the month, with his own birth-day (unknown  
to



Char. 1. to such forgers) he not only discovered many  false writings which were past, but also deterred dishonest cheaters from attempting the like for the future. He made good use of bishop Usher's interest while he was there, as appears by the excellent speech that the bishop made for the king's supply.

Being recalled into England, he lived honourably in the county aforesaid, until by a sad casualty he broke his leg on a stand in Theobald's park, and soon after dyed thereof. He married the sole daughter and heir of sir Lawrence Tanfield, chief baron of the exchequer, by whom he had a fair estate in Oxfordshire. His death happened *anno dom.* 1620. being father to the most accomplished statesman.

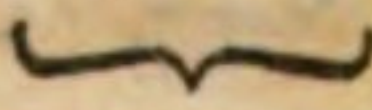
2. Lucius lord Falkland, the wildness of whose youth was an argument of the quickness of his riper years: he that hath a *spirit* to be unruly before the use of his reason, hath *mettle* to be *active* afterwards. Quick-silver if fixed, is incomparable; besides that the *adventures, contrivances, secrets, confidence, trust, compliance with opportunity*, and the other fallies of young gallants, prepare them more serious undertakings—as they did this noble lord; great in his gown, greater in his buffe; able with his sword, abler with his pen: a knowing statesman, a learned scholar, and a stout man: one instance of that excess in learning and other great perfections, which portended ruine to this nation in their opinion, who write, that all extreams, whether of vertue or vice, are ominous, especially that unquiet thing call'd *learning*, whose \* *αυμη* signifieth its own period, and that of the empire it flou-

\* Highest Eminence.



flourisheth in; a too universally dilated learning, Char. I.  
being not faithful to the settlements either of po-  
licy or religion; it being no less ready to disco-  
ver *blemishes* in the one, than incongruities in  
the other: sophisters (saith my smart author)  
like the countrey of the Switz, being as able up-  
on the least advantage proposed, to engage on  
the wrong side as on the right. As to go no  
further, this excellent personage being among  
the Demagogues that had been for twelve years  
silenced, and were now to play the prize in par-  
liament, and shew their little twit-twat, but te-  
dious faculties of speaking, makes the bitterest  
invective against the governours and government  
of the church, that ever was penned in English;  
which though designed by him, it's thought, on-  
ly to allay the fury of the faction, by some com-  
pliance with it, carried things beyond the mode-  
ration and decency of that assembly, which he  
made too hot for himself, retyring in cooler  
thoughts, as many more (that like Brutus  
could not lay the storms they had raised) to Ox-  
ford, where his pen was more honourably im-  
ployed in detecting the fundamental error of  
Rome their *infallibility*, and countermining the  
main props of Westminster their *hypocrisie*; this  
as secretary, the other as a student—in both lay-  
ing open the little pretensions, whereby poor  
people were insnared in their civil and religious  
liberty.—Much was the gall always in his ink,  
and very sharp his pen; but even, flowing, and  
full his style, such as became him, whose learn-  
ing was not an unsetled mass of reading that  
whirled up and down in his head, but fixed ob-  
servations, that tempered with solid prudence  
and



Char. 1. and experience, were the steady maxims of his  soul fitted for all times and occasions; he having fate (as some noble-mens sons used to do formerly in the house of lords) behind the chair of state from his very child-hood, and owning a large heart capable of making that universal inspection into things that much becomes a gentleman, being a master in any thing he discoursed of.—Insomuch that his general knowledge husbanded by his wit, and set off by his meine and carriage, attracted many to come as far to see him, as he professed he would go to see Mr. Daillee—which rendred him no less necessary than admirable at court, untill his curiosity engaging him at Newbery, he was strangely slain there, dying as he lived till then, between his friends and enemies, to the king's great grief, who valued him, because he understood his parts and services in the treaty at Oxford, where he was eminent for two things; the timing of propositions, and concealing of inclinations; though no man so passionate for his design, as never enduring that hope that holds resolution so long in suspense, but ever allaying it with that fear that most commonly adviseth the best by supposing the worst—his usual saying was, *I pity unlearned Gentlemen in a rainy day.*

3. He was father first to Henry lord Falkland, whose quick and extraordinary parts and notable spirit performed *much* and promised *more*, having a great command in the countrey where he was lord-lieutenant, a general respect in the house where he was member, a great esteem at court (with his majesty and his royal highness the duke of York) where he was both *wit*, and *wisdom.*



*wisdom.*—When there was the first opportunity Char. I. offered to honest men to act, he laid hold of it, and got in spite of all opposition, to a thing called a *Parliament*: by the same token, that when some urged he had not sowed his wilde oats, he is said to reply; *If I have not, I may sow them in the House, where there are Geese enough to pick them up.* And when sir F. N. should tell him he was a little too wilde for so grave a service, he is reported to reply; *Alas! I am wilde, and my Father was so before me, and I am no Bastard,*—as &c. In which contention he out-did the most active demagogues at their own weapon, speaking. When major Huntington and his followers were for the long parliament, sir F. N. L. S. &c. were for the secluded members, my lord carried all the county for an absolute free *Parliament*: which he lived to see, and act in so successfully, that he was voted generally higher in trust and services, had he not been cut off in the prime of his years; as much missed when dead, as beloved when living——A great instance of what a strict education (for no man was ever harder bred) a general converse, and a noble temper can arrive to; and what an orator can do in a democracy, where the affections of many are to be wrought upon, rather than the judgment of few to be convinced. A golden tongue falling under a subtle head under such a constitution, hath great influence upon the whole nation.



*Observations on the Life of Sir  
James Ley, Earl of Marlbo-  
rough.*

Lloyd.

SIR James Ley, son of Henry Ley Esquire  
(one of great ancestry, who, saith my au-  
thor, on his own cost, with his men, valiantly  
served king Henry the eighth, at the siege of  
Boloyn) being his fathers sixth son, (and so in  
probability barred of his inheritance) endeav-  
oured to make himself an heir by his education,  
applying his book in *Brazen-Nose-Colledge*, and  
afterwards studying the laws of the land in Lin-  
colns-Inne, wherein such his proficiency, king  
James made him lord chief-justice in Ireland.  
“ Here he practised the charge king James gave  
“ him at his going over, (yea, what his own  
“ tender conscience gave himself) namely, not  
“ to build his estate upon the ruines of a miser-  
“ able nation, but aiming by the impartial exe-  
“ cution of justice, not to enrich himself, but  
“ civilize the people. But the wise king would  
“ no longer lose him out of his own land, and  
“ therefore recalled him home about the time  
“ when his fathers inheritance, by the death of  
“ his five elder brethren descended upon him.  
“ It was not long before offices and honours  
“ flowed in fast upon him, being made by

|                          |  |                            |
|--------------------------|--|----------------------------|
| King James               |  | King Charles               |
| 1. Attorney of the court |  | 1 Earl of Marlbo-<br>rough |



of wards.

2. Chief-justice of the upper bench, the 18 of his reign *Jan. 29.*

3. Lord treasurer of England in the 22 of his reign, *Dec. 22.*

4. Baron Ley of Ley in Devonshire, the last of the same month.

rough in Wiltshire, *Char. 1.* immediately after the King's Coronation.

2. Lord president of the council, in which place he died, *Anno Dom. 1629.*

He was a person of great gravity, ability, and integrity : and as the *Caspian* sea is observed neither to ebbe nor flow, so his mind did not rise or fall, but continued the same constancy in all conditions ; a good temper enough for a judge, but not for a statesman, and for any statesman, but a lord treasurer ; and for any lord treasurer but in king Charles his active time, who was put to it to find out such stirring men as might recover him from the hazard and defection he was fallen into in purse and power.

## *Observations on the Life of Sir John Cook.*

**S**IR John Cook, younger brother to sir Francis Cook, born at Trusley (in the hundred of Apple-tree) in Derbyshire, of ancient and worshipful parentage, and allied to the best family in that countrey ; was bred fellow of Trinity-Colledge, in Cambridge, where his wit being designed



Char. 1. designed his estate, he was chosen rhetorick-lecturer in the university, where he grew eminent for his ingenious and critical reading in that school, where rhetorick seemed to be not so much an art, as his nature; being not only the subject, but the very frame of his discourse. Then travelled he beyond the seas for some years (when his judgment was fitted for foreign observations by domestick experience) in the company of a person of quality, returning thence rich in languages, remarks, and experience, waving all the dangers incident to him for his religion, by a wary profession, that he came to learn, and not to search; being first related to sir Fulke Grevil, lord Brook, who did all mens business but his own; he was thence preferred to be secretary to the navy, then master of the requests, and at last secretary of state for twenty years together. Being a very zealous protestant, he did all good offices for the advancement of true religion: his contemporaries character him a grave and a prudent man in gate, apparel, and speech; one that had his intellectuals very perfect in the dispatch of business till he was eighty-years old; when foreseeing those intrigues that might be too hard for his years, he with his majesties good leave retired as Moses did, to die when his eyes were not dim, &c. having kept himself strictly to the law of the land: insomuch, that being sent to command bishop Williams from Westminster; and being asked by the stout bishop, by what authority he commanded a man out of his house and his free-hold, he was so tender of the point, that he never rested till he had his pardon for it. Much ado he had to keep the king's



king's favour for his compliance with the facti-Char. 1.  
on, witness his third submission; and as much  
ado to retain the factions good opinion for his  
service to the king, witness his several apologies  
in parliament to this purpose; " That it was a  
" hard thing, that they who should have thanks  
" for the good offices they did the people with  
" the king, had now nothing but censures for  
" the same offices they did the king with his  
" people—Never was any man more put to it to  
" reconcile the two readings of that text

\* *καιρω* } *διδασκειν* —which he could never have done,  
† *κυριω* }

but that his old rule safe-guarded him, viz.  
" That no man should let what is unjustifiable  
" or dangerous appear under *his hand*, to give  
" envy a *steady aim* at his place or person; *nor*  
mingle interests with great men made desperate  
by debts or court-injuries, whose falls have been  
ruinous to their wisest followers; *nor* pry any fur-  
ther into *secrecy*, than rather to *secure*, than *show*  
*himself*; nor impart that to a friend, that may  
impower him to be an enemy. Besides that his  
years excused in him that caution some obstinate  
men want that are broken with vicissitudes, be-  
cause they consider not that the forwardest in  
turmoys are least regarded when things return  
to a calm.

He served the time out of christian discretion,  
in finding out the seasons of things commendably.  
He complied out of some infirmity in particular  
accommodations pardonably; but neither of ig-  
norance or design, in pursuance of his own; or  
any

\* To serve the Time † To serve the Lord.



Char. I. any other mans plot unfaithfully. Indeed he must have wrenched and sprained his grave soul with the short turnings in those days, if it had been true, that he should shuffle a Scots paper (instead of the genuine articles of pacification at York) which the earls of Holland, Pembroke, &c. disavowed to the northern commissioners faces (my lord of Pembroke saying, *That indeed as he took Horse, and his Friends being busie about him, such a Paper was put into his hand, but he opened it not untill he came to his Majesty*) and his majesty burned in the face of both kingdoms; whereby they say he was dismissed, which I am not willing to believe, only I find him hereafter bring propositions from the parliament (as they called it) to the king, as actively as formerly he had carried messages from the king to the parliament:—indeed he had an happy mixture of discretion and charity, whereby he could allow to things and persons more than men of straighter apprehensions, or narrower affections were able to do. Indeed, though as I told you otherwise wary, he broke an affair to a partizan that kept him under all his days: and he that entertains a dangerous design, puts his head into an halter, and the halter into his hand to whom he first imparts it.—Sir Francis Windebank and he fell into extreams; which balanced, might have supported the government, if they had directed their particular inclinations and indulgences by the measures of the general interest and temper.



## *Observations on the Life of the Earl of Danby.*

**A**L L that I find of this plain noble-man, is written on his tomb-stone at Dantsey in Wiltshire. Here lyeth the body of Henry Danvers, second son to sir John Danvers knight, and dame Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir to Nevil lord Latimer. He was born at Dantsey in the county of Wilts, *Anno Dom.* 1573. being bred up partly in the low-countrey wars, under Maurice earl of Nassaw, afterwards prince of Orange; and in many other military actions of those times, both by sea, and by land. He was made a captain in the military wars of France, and there knighted for his good service under Henry the fourth the then French king. He was employed as lieutenant of the Horse, and serjeant-major of his whole army in Ireland, under Robert earl of Essex, and Charles baron of Mountjoy, in the reign of Queen Eliz. By king James the first, he was made baron of Dantsey, and peer of this realm; as also lord president of Munster, and governour of Guernsey. By king Charles the first, he was created earl of Danby, made one of his privy-council, and knight of the most noble order of the garter. In his later time, by reason of imperfect health, considerately declining more active employments, full of honours, wounds, and days, he died *Anno Dom.* 1643.

Lloyd.

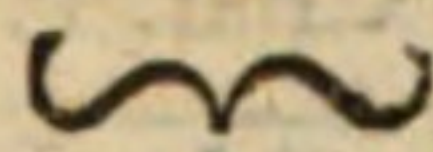
\* *L A V S D E O.*

For

\* Glory to God.



## *Observations on the Life*

Char. 1. For many years before, St. George had not  
 been more magnificently mounted (I mean the solemnity of his feast more sumptuously observed) than when this earl, with the earl of Morton, were installed knights of the garter. One might have there beheld the abridgment of England and Scotland in their attendance. The Scottish earl (like Xeuxes his picture) adorned with all art and costliness, whilst our English earl (like the plain sheet of Apelles) by the gravity of his habit, got the advantage of the gallantry of his cor rival with judicious beholders. He died without issue in the beginning of our civil wars, and by his will made 1639. settled his large estate on his hopeful nephew Henry D'Anvers, snatch'd away (before fully of age,) to the great grief of all good men.

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## *Observations on the Life of Sir George Crook.*

Lloyd. SIR George Crook, son of sir John Crook, and Elizabeth Unton his wife, was born at Chilton in Buckingham-shire, in the second year of the reign of queen Elizabeth; bred first in Oxford, then a double reader in the Inner-Temple, serjeant at law, and the king's serjeant; justice first of the common bench, 22 Jac. and then of the upper bench, 4 Caroli. His ability in his profession is sufficiently attested by his own printed reports; eight eminent judges of the law  
out



out of their knowledge of his great wisdom, Char. 1. learning, and integrity, approving and allowing them to be published for the common benefit. His only defect was, that he was against the ancient naval-aid called ship-money, both publickly in Westminster-Hall, and privately in his judgement demanded by the king, even at that time when our neighbours not only incroached upon our trade, but disputed our right in the narrow-seas, though concluded to subscribe (according to the course of the court) by plurality of voices. The countrymans wit (levelled to his brain) will not for many years be forgotten; that ship-money may be gotten by Hook, and not by Crook; though since they have paid taxes (*Lyons to the little finger, and Scorpions to the rod of ship-money*) but whether by Hook or Crook, let others enquire: Hampden's share for which he went to law, being but eighteen shillings, though it cost the nation since eighteen millions.

Considering his declining and decaying age, and desiring to examine his life, and prepare an account to the supream judge, he petitioned king Charles for a writ of ease; which though in some sort denied, (what wise master would willingly part with a good servant?) was in effect granted unto him. For the good king (exacting from his subjects no services beyond their years and abilities; and taking it better at his hands, that he confessed his infirmities, than if he had concealed them) discharged him for the pains, though he allowed him the fees and honour of chief-justice while he lived.—Wherefore in gratitude as well as conscience, however he was misled



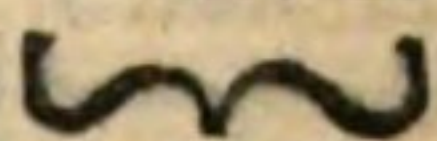
Char. 1. missed in the foresaid matter of ship-money, he  
 { abhorred the faction heartily; for he would say  
 of Hampden, *he is a dangerous person, take heed  
 of him*,—and loved the church as heartily; for  
 we are told by a person of great worth and cre-  
 dit, that having read over the book of canons  
 1640. when it first came out, and was so much  
 spoken against, he lifted up his hands, and gave  
 hearty thanks to Almighty God, that he had  
 lived to see such good effects of a convocation.  
 In a word, he was no less in his life, than he is  
 in his epitaph now dead, which runs thus;

\* Georgius Crook *Eques Auratus, unus justi-*  
*ciariorum de Banco Regis, Judicio Linceato, &*  
*animo presenti insignis, veritatis hæres, quem nec*  
*minæ nec bonos allexit: Regis auctoritatem & po-*  
*puli libertatem æquâ lance Libravit; Religione cor-*  
*datus, vitâ innocuus, manu expansâ, Corde humili*  
*pauperes irrogavit; mundum vicit & deseruit, Anno*  
*Ætat. Lxxii, Annoque R. C. I. xvii. Anno*  
*Domini MDCXLI.*

Obfer-

\* George Crook Knight, one of the Justices of the  
 King's Bench, distinguished for his acute Judgment, and  
 presence of Mind; he inherited an Integrity of Heart  
 which neither Threats nor Honors could seduce. He poised  
 in equal Balance, the Prerogative of the Crown and the  
 Liberty of the People; hearty in his Religion, innocent in  
 his Life; he releived the Poor with an extensive Benevolence  
 and true Humility; he conquered the World and left it in  
 the 82d Year of his Age, in the 17th Year of King Charles  
 Ist, and in the Year of our Lord 1641.





*Observations on the Life of*  
*Sir Rob. Armstroder.*

**H**E was a great foldier, a skilful antiquary, Lloyd.  
 and a good fellow: in the first capacity I  
 finde him bringing off five hundred English for  
 three miles together without the los of a man,  
 from six thousand Spaniards, along a plain cham-  
 pion, where the enemy might have furrounded  
 them at pleasure.—Well he could handle bright  
 armour in the field, better he understood that  
 more rusty in the tower; therefore in his second  
 capacity we have him *picking* up old coyn, va-  
 luing more a dollar which he might *study*, than  
 a pound he might *spend*: yet though his mind  
 was taken with the curiosities of former times,  
 his inclination was very compliant with the mode  
 of his own; for he was excellent company, in  
 which capacity none more prevalent than he in  
 Germany, where they talk much; none more  
 acceptable in Denmark, where they drink hard;  
 none more taking in Sweden, where they droll  
 smartly. His humble proposition and submis-  
 sion in behalf of the elector, was accepted by the  
 emperour, 1630. He went to Denmark; and  
 the first night he arrived he pleased the king so  
 well in drinking healths, that his majesty order-  
 ed that his business should be dispatch'd that very  
 night, and he shipped when asleep, as he was to  
 his own amazement when awaked, and the a-  
 maze-



Char. I. amazement of all England when returned; he  
 being here before some thought he had been  
 there.—*Humour is the mistress of the world.*

Neither was he more intent upon the pleasing  
 of *foreign* princes, than careful in the honour of  
 his *own*, especially in his faith, word, and im-  
 pregnable honesty; for he knew a faithless prince  
 is beloved of none; but suspected by his friends,  
 not trusted of his enemies,—and forsaken of all  
 men in his greatest necessities.

Yet he was not so taken with antique medals  
 abroad, but he promoted a new invention at  
 home: for to him and sir H. Wotton we owe it,  
 that F. Klein the German, a very eminent artist  
 in working tapestry, came over to serve king  
 Charles the first, a *virtuoso*, judicious in all li-  
 beral mechanical arts, and for 100 pounds *per*  
*ann.* pension, so improved that manufacture, at  
 this time very compleat at Mortlack, in a house  
 built by sir Francis Crane upon king James his  
 motion, who gave two thousand pounds towards  
 it in that place.—General Tilly would say before  
 Gustavus Adolphus came into Germany, that  
 he was happy for three things; *that he heard*  
*mass daily*; *that he had never touched a woman*;  
 and *that he had never lost a battel*.—What ever sir  
 Robert could say to the first, he was very pro-  
 sperous for the last; that he never failed of suc-  
 cess either in fighting or treating; in the field,  
 or in the chamber.



## *Observations on the Life of Philip Earl of Arundel.*

**H**AD his *faith* been as orthodox as his fathers Lloyd. *faithfulness* was eminent, K. James his gratitude, and his uncle Northampton's policy had raised him as high as his father hath been, and his son *is*. But since his opinion made him a separatist from the church, and his temper a recluse from the court, we have him in a place of *honour* only as *earl marshal*, while we finde his brother in a place of *profit*, as lord treasurer—though both in a place of *trust* as privy-counsellors,—where this earl approved himself a confutation of his \* uncles maxim; *that a through-paced Papist could not be a true-hearted subject*; being as good an English-man in his heart, as he was a catholick in his conscience; only the greatness of his spirit would not suffer any affronts in † parliament; whence he endured some discountenance from the court, insomuch that the house of lords finding him a prisoner, when they sate 1626. would not act untill after several of their petitions he was released; when, his temper yielding with years, he was very complying, only he presumed to marry his son to an heiress the king had disposed of elsewhere; which yet he laid upon the women that made the match.

In-

\* See the Earl of Northampton's Speech.

† See Lord Spencer.



Char. 1. Indeed the politick observator saith ; *That women of all creatures are the most dextrous in contriving their designs, their natural sprightfulness of imagination, attended with their leisure, furnishing them with a thousand Expedients, and proposing all kinds of Overtures with such probability of happy success, that they easily desire, and as eagerly pursue their design.*

When he was sometimes barred the service of his own time, he studied those before him, being a fond patron of antiquaries and antiquity, of whose old pieces he was the greatest hoarder in Europe, setting aside Ferdinando de Medicis, grand duke of Tuscany, from whom by the mediation of sir Henry Wotton, he borrowed many an antique sculpture, which furnished his archives so well, (as we may guess by Mr. Selden's *Marmora Arundeliana*) that as my lord Burleigh's library was the most compleat one for a politician, my lord Bacon's for a philosopher, Mr. Selden's for an historian, bishop Usher's for a divine, my lord of Northampton's for a poet, Mr. Oughtred's for a mathematician, dr. Hammond's for a Grammarian, or an universal critick ; so the earl of Arundel's was the best for an herald and an *Antiquary*, a \* library not for shew, but use.

Neither was he more in his study, where he bestowed his melancholy hours, than in council, where he advised three things in reference to the foreign troubles : 1. Correspondence abroad. 2. Frequent parliaments. 3. Oftner progresses into

\* Nobly communicated to all ingenious Persons by the honourable H. Howard of Norfolk, greater in his own worth than in any Titles.



into the countries. Neither was he less in the Char. I. field than in council, when general against the Scots (the more shame!) that protestants should at a time rebel against their king, when papists ventured their lives for him: after which expedition he was ordered beyond sea with the queen-mother of France, 1639. when they say he looked back on England with this wish, *May it never have need of me.*

It's true, some observe, that the Scots who cried upon him as a papist, yet writ under-hand to him their *Noble Lord*, as they did to Essex and Holland so effectually, that they had no heart to that war afterward;—and it is as true, that there-upon a schedule was now the second time given of the parties that combined against the government, viz. 1. The busie medlers that had got the plausible trick of haranguing since king James's time, not used in parliament from H. 6. time to his. 2. The covetous landlords, inclosers, justices of the peace that ruled in the country, and would do so in parliament. 3. Needy men in debt, that durst not shew their heads in time of peace. 4. Puritans, that were so troublesome against Hatton, &c. in queen Eliz. days; and under pretence of religion, overthrew all government. 5. Such malecontents as either lost the preferment they had, or had not what they were ambitious of, with their kindred and dependants. 6. Lawyers, that second any attempt upon the prerogative, with their cases, records, and antiquities. 7. London merchants, that had been discovered by Cranfield and Ingram, as to their cheats put upon the king in his *Customs* and *Plantations*. 8.

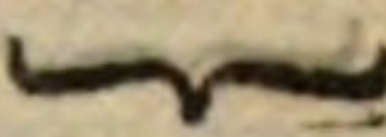


Char. I. Common-wealthsmen, that had learned from  
 ~~~~~ Holland in queen Eliz. days to pray for the  
 queen and the state. And 9. (Because there
 cannot be a treason without a P—) such rescu-
 ants as were *Hispanioliz'd*, whereof this earl was
 none: but though as a church-papist he had
 most of the catholick peers votes devolved on
 him; he never bestowed them undutifully, al-
 beit sometimes *stoutly* and *resolutely*. A great
 friend he was to all new inventions, save those
 that tended to do that by few hands, which had
 been usually done by many; because said he,
*While private men busie their heads to take off the
 Poors employment, the publick Magistrate must trou-
 ble his to find them maintenance.* Either he or the
 earl of Northampton used to say (when asked
 what made a compleat man?) *To know how to
 cast Accompts*: an accomplishment though ordi-
 nary, yet might save many an estate in Eng-
 land.

*Observations on the Life of Esme
 Duke of Richmond.*

Lloyd.

GREAT in his ancestors honour, greater in
 his own vertue, and greatest of all, in that
 like the star he wore, the higher he was the less
 he desired to *seem*, affecting rather the *worth*,
 than the *pomp of nobleness*;—therefore his cour-
 tesie was his nature, not his craft; and his affa-
 bleness not a base and servile popularity, or an
 am-

ambitious insinuation ; but the native gentleness Char. I.
of his disposition, and his true value of himself: 
he was not a stranger to any thing worth knowing, but best acquainted with himself, and in himself, rather with his weaknesses for caution, than his abilities for action. Hence he is not so forward in the traverses of war, as in *treaties* of peace, where his honour ennobled his cause, and his moderation advanced it: he and my lord of Southampton managing the several overtures of peace at London, Oxford, and Uxbridge with such honourable freedom and prudence, that they were not more deservedly regarded by their friends, than importunately courted by their enemies ; who seeing they were *such*, could not be patient till they were *theirs*, though in vain, their honours being impregnable as well against the factions kindness as against their power. At conferences his conjectures were as solid as others judgements ; his strict observation of what was passed, furnishing him for an happy guess of what was to *come* : yet his opinion was neither variably unconstant, nor obstinately immoveable, but framed to present occasions, wherein his method was to begin a second advice from the failure of his first—though he hated doubtful suspense, when he might be resolute. This one great defect was his good nature, that he could never distrust till it was dangerous to suspect ; and he gave his *enemy* so much advantage, that he durst but own him for his *friend*.—One thing he repented of, that he advised his majesty to trust duke Hamilton his adversary with the affairs of Scotland, in compliance with the general opinion, rather than the marquis Huntly his friend

Char. 1. in compliance with his own real interest; an advice wherein his publick-spiritedness superseded his particular concerns, and his good nature his prudence:—so true is it, that the honest mans single uprightness works in him that confidence, which oft-times wrongs him, and gives advantage to the subtle, while he rather pities their faithfulness, than repents of his credulity: so great advantage have they that look *only* what they *may* do, over them that consider what they *should* do; and they that observe only what is *expedient*, over them that judge only what is *lawful*.—Therefore when those that thought themselves wise, left their sinking soveraign, he stuck to his person while he lived, to his body when dead, and to his cause as long as he lived himself:—attending the first resolutely, burying the second honourably, and managing the third discreetly; undertaking without rashness, and performing without fear; never seeking dangers, never avoiding them. Although when his friends were conquered by the rebels, he was conquered by himself, retiring to that privacy, where he was *guessed* at, not *known*; where he *saw* the world *unseen*; where he made yielding a conquest; where cheerful and unconcerned in expectation, he provided for the worst, and hoped the best, in the constant exercise of that religion, which he and his maintained more effectually with their *examples*, than with their *swords*; doing as much good in encouraging the orthodox by his presence, as in relieving them by his bounty.—In a word, I may say of him, as Macarius doth of Justine; there was no vice but he thought below him; and no vertue which he esteemed not

not either his duty or ornament. Neither was Char. I.
 his prudence narrower than his vertue, nor his
 vertue streighter than his fortune. His main
 service was his inspection into the intrigues and
 reserves of the Parliamentiers at Uxbridge, and
 his cajoling of the Independants and Scots at
 London, where the issue of his observations was ;
 that the king should as far as his conscience could
 allow, comply with the unreasonable desires of
 an illimited ambition, to make it sensible of the
 evils that would flow from its own counsels : be-
 ing confident, as events have assured us, that the
 people would see the inconvenience of their own
 wishes ; and that they would return that power
 which they fought for, but could not manage,
 to its proper place, before it became their ru-
 ine :—for *unbounded liberty* overthroweth its self.
 But alas ! it was too late to grant them any thing,
 who by having so much, were only encouraged
 more eagerly to desire what they knew the king
 in honour could not give :—for when a prince is
 once rendred odious or contemptible, his *indul-*
gences do him no less hurt than injuries.

As his services were great, so were his recrea-
 tions useful* ; hunting, that manly exercise be-
 ing both his pleasure and his accomplishment :
 his accomplishment, I say, since it is in the list
 of Machiavel's rules to his prince, as not only
 the wholsomest and cheapest diversion, both in
 relation to himself, and his people, but the best
 tutor to horse-manship, stratagems, and situa-
 tions, by which he may afterwards place an ar-
 my ; whatever sir Philip Sidney's apprehension
 T 3 was,

* See his late Majesties Recommendation to him at his
 Departure from Hampton-Court.

Char. 1. was, who used to say; next hunting, he liked
 ~~~~~hawking worst.

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*Observations on the Life of the  
 Lord Chief-Justice Banks.*

Lloyd. SIR John Banks his parents perceiving him judicious and industrious, bestowed good breeding on him in Grayes-Inne, in hope he should attain to preferment; wherein they were not deceived. For after he was called to the bar for some years, he solicited suits for others, thereby attaining great practical experience. He afterwards might laugh at them, who then did smile at him, leaving many behind him in learning, whom he found before him in time, until at last he was knighted by king Charles, made first his attorney, then chief-justice of the common-pleas, dying in the midst and heat of our civil dissensions. He ordered by his will, that his body should be buried under some plain monument at the discretion of his executors; and after an epitaph mentioning the several places he had held, this motto to be added;

\* *Non nobis Domine, non nobis, sed Nomini  
 tuo da Gloriam.*

By

\* Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy Name be the Praise.



By his said will he gave to the value of thirty Char. 1.  
pound *per ann.* with other emoluments, to be be-  
stowed in pious uses, and chiefly to set up a ma-  
nufacture of coarse cottons in the town of Kes-  
wick. *in Cumberland, the place of his birth.*

He was one whom the collar of S. S. S. worn by judges and other magistrates became very well, if it had its name from Sanctus, Simon, Simplicius; no man being more seriously *pious*, none more singly *honest*.—When sir Henry Savile came to sir Edward Cook then at bowls, in arch-bishop Abbot's behalf, and told him he had a case to propose to him: sir Edward answered; *If it be a case in common-law, I am unworthy to be a judge, if I cannot presently satisfie you: but if it be a point of statute-law, I am unworthy to be a judge, if I should undertake to satisfie you without consulting my books.*—Sir John Banks, though ready without his books on the bench,—yet always resolved cases out of them in his chamber; answerable to his saying to dr. Sibs, a good textuary is a good *lawyer*, as well as a good *divine*.

His invention was prompt and ready; his apprehension sure and solid; his memory capacious and retentive; his knowledge in the law, and the inward reasons of it, profound; his experience in affairs of state universal, and well laid: patient he was in hearing; sparing, but pertinent in speaking: very glad always to have things represented truly and clearly; and when it was otherwise, able to discern through all pretences the real merit of a cause.

He was a man of singular modesty, of the ancient freedom, a plain-heartedness, and integrity of mind: very grave and severe in his deport-  
ment,



Char. 1. ment, yet very affable, in such sort, that, as Tacitus saith of Agrippa; \* *Illi quod est rarissimum nec facilitas auctoritatem, nec severitas amorem diminuit*: and in a word, so even and circumspect he was in the several turnings and occasions of his life, that though he went himself, and brought over as many as he had any interest in, to the king, I find him under no extraordinary displeasure from the rebels; and I observe but one unhappiness in his whole life, and that is, that all men speak well of him.

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## *Observations on the Life of Sir Tho. Edmonds.*

Lloyd.

THE trophies of Miltiades would not let Themistocles sleep, nor the courts-advancements of his relations this gentleman to sit still; having both Livie's qualifications, for an eminent man, a great spirit, and a gallant conduct for actions; a sharp wit, and a fluent tongue for advice.—Whence we meet with him comptroller of the kings household at home, and his agent for † peace abroad, equally fit for business of courage and resolution, and for affairs of counsel and complement.—I think it was this gentleman, who foreseeing a contest likely to ensue between  
the

\* He had that rare and happy Quality, that his Affability did not cause Contempt, nor his Gravity make him the less beloved.

† In France, 1629.



the English and the Spanish embassadors, to the Char. 1. first whereof he belonged, went to Rome privately and fetched a certificate out of the book of ceremonies (which according to the canon giveth the rule in such cases) shewing that the king of England was to precede him of Castile; a good argument, because *ad homines*, wise men having always thought fit to urge not what is most *rational* in its self, but what (all circumstances considered) is most convincing. Sir Thomas Edmonds used to puzzle the Catholicks about six records. 1. The original of Constantine's grant of Rome to the Pope. 2. St. Mark's grant of the Adriatique gulph to Venice. 3. The Salique law in France. 4. The instrument whereby king John passed away England to the Pope. 5. The letter of king Lucius. And 6. The ordinal of the consecration at the Nags-head.— Neither did he perplex them with these quæries, more than he angered the faction with his principles, *Tertio Car. I.* 1. That the king was to be trusted. 2. That the revenue was to be settled. 3. That the protestant cause was to be maintained. 4. That jealousies were to be removed, and things past were to be forgotten.

*Obser-*



*Observations on the Life of  
Sir Paul Pindar.*

Lloyd.

**H**E was first a factor, then a merchant, next a \* consul; and at last an embassador in Turkey: whence returning with a good purse and a wary head-piece, he cast about what he might do to gratifie K. James and the arch-bishop of Canterbury most; and finding them much pleased with acts of charity and piety, he repaired the entry, front, and porches of St. Paul's cathedral to all the upper church, quire and chancel, and enriched them with marble structures and figures of the apostles, with carvings and guildings far exceeding their former beauty, which cost above two thousand pounds; the act of a good man, said K. James, who made him one of the great farmers of the customs: in gratitude whereof, sir Paul besides his former expences, took upon him to new build the south isle, which cost him above 17000*l*.

A projector (such necessary evils then countenanced) and he a clergy-man too, informed K. James how he might speedily advance his revenue by bringing in spiritual preferments (now forsooth under-rated in the kings books) to a full value, to the great encrease of first-fruits and tenths: the king demands the lord treasurer Cranfield's judgement thereof: he said, *Sir, you are*

\* At Perross and Aleppo.



are esteemed a great lover of learning; you know Char. 1. clergy-mens education is chargeable, their preferment slow, and small: let it not be said you gain by grinding them; other ways less obnoxious to just censure will be found out to furnish your occasions. The king commended the treasurer (as doing it only for tryal) adding moreover, *I should have accounted thee a very knave, if encouraging me herein.*—But he sends for sir Paul Pindar, and tells him, he must either raise the customs, or take this course; who answered him nobly: *That he would lay thirty thousand pounds at his feet the morrow, rather than he should be put upon such poor projects, as unsuitable to his honour, as to his inclination.* Go thy way (saith the king) *thou art a good man.*

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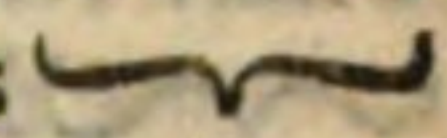
## *Observations on the Life of Sir Henry Vane Senior.*

**T**HREE things Henry the fourth of France Lloyd. said would puzzle any man. 1. Whether queen Elizabeth was a maid? 2. Whether the prince of Orange was valiant? 3. What religion he himself was of? To which I may add a fourth, viz. what sir Henry Vane was? whom I know not what to call, but what Mr. Baxter calleth his son, a *hider*: the fathers life being as mystical as the sons faith, men as little understanding the actions of the one, as they did the writing of the other: but the two powers that govern the world,



Char. 1. world, the *best*, and the *worst*, are both invisible.

~~~~~ All *Northern* men are reserved to others, but this was too sly for his own countrey-men; neither sir John Savile that brought him to court, nor sir Thomas Wentworth that advanced him there, understanding either his temper, or his design.—He betrayed any council he was present at, and marred all the actions he was employed in. As 1. When he was sent to relate the emperor's overture to the queen of Bohemia, of thirty thousand pounds *per ann.* and a marriage between her eldest son and his daughter, he did it with those aukward circumstances, that transported the good lady to such unseasonable expressions, as at that time blasted her cause and expectations. And thence it's thought he brought sir Robert Dudley's rhapsody of projects to disparage the king's government, under pretence of supplying his necessities: [it was the way of the late underminers, to relieve their masters present need upon future inconveniences; hiding themselves under proposals, plausible for the present, and fatal in the consequence] which juggles of his were so long too little to be considered, that at last they were too great to be remedied. 2. He is said to have shuffled other conditions into the pacification at York, were he was a commissioner, than were avowed by the lords commissioners, much insisted on by the Scots, and burned by the common hang-man, as false, and contrary to the true articles. 3. When sent to the house, 1640. to demand 12, or 8, or 6 subsidies, he requireth without abatement twelve, with design (as it's judged) to ask so much, as might enrage the parliament to give nothing;—and so to be  
dis-

dissolved unhappily, or continued *unsuccessfully*. Char. 1.
 4. He and his son together betray the votes 
 passed in the select council, taken by him privately under his hat, for the reducing of Scotland to the ruine of the earl of Strafford, and the arch-bishop of Canterbury—The story is, sir Henry Vane was trusted with the juncto, where he took notes of their several opinions; these notes he puts up in his closet: a while after, he delivers to his son sir H. Vane junior, a key to fetch some papers out of a cabinet, in which he finds another key to an inward shutter; which he opened, and lighted upon this paper, and communicates it to Mr. Pym for the end aforesaid; and upon this very paper (doest not tremble reader at this treason?) alone, the house of commons voted that brave earl out of his *life*, the same day that twenty two years after the same sir Henry Vane junior, lost his head. * *Absolvi numen.*

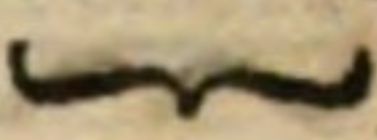
Observations on the Life of
Sir Richard Hutton.

SIR Richard Hutton was born at Perith, of a Lloyd. worshipful family (his elder brother was a knight) and bred in Jesus-Colledge in Cambridge. He intended his studies for divinity, till dissuaded by the importunity of his friends (amongst whom George earl of Cumberland was most

* Thus is Providence justified.

Char. 1. most eminent) he became barrister of Grayes-Inne. But in expression of his former affection to divinity, he seldom (if ever) took fee of a clergy-man. Afterwards being recorder of York, he was knighted, and made judge of the common-pleas. In the case of ship-money, though he was against the king, or rather for the * commons, yet his majesty manifested not the least distaste, continuing to call him the *honest judge*. This person so pious to God, and charitable to the poor, was dissolved about the beginning of our national misery. Thus God, before he ploweth up a land with the furrows of a civil war, first cutteth down his old crop, and gathereth them like ripe sheaves into his barn. He died at Sergeants-Inne, and was buried at his earnest desire with the common-prayer, without any funeral-sermon (save what his own vertues preached to posterity) at St. Dunstan's in the West, on the 27th day of February, *Anno Dom.* 1638. Here I learn how circumspect our counsels must be in reference to things and persons above us; which implying an over-poyzing of our own judgement, and a debasing of others, in all cases is obnoxious to jealousy, but in these to danger, under which there are no qualifications to patience and moderation. The vertues of this happy judge (if he had cast obstinacy over-board, and let his wisdom tack about in things capable of expedience) whereby he knew well both how to allay the asperities

* So saith the historian: but I think as much against them as against the K. not only because the welfare of K. and people are inseparable: but also because there is not a more common saying among the people, than defend me, and spend me.

perities of a bad fortune, and check the excesses Char. I.
 of a good one, packing up his fears and hopes 
 in so narrow a compass, as made the last less tedious, and the first more portable; to which he added an unaffected plainness, the argument of his worth and weight, a weakness and emptiness being as safely as usually concluded from too much affectation,—an over-much care of the out-side being an argument of remissness in what is within, it remaining (saith one) equally rare, to find a starched and formal man wise, as a woman valiant; the most serious endeavours of both being to take only the eyes.

*Observations on the Life of
 the Marquess of Hertford.*

HE was none of those male-contents who make Lloyd.
 the sins of their riper years make good the follies of their youth, and maintain *oversights* with *treasons*: as he was patient under his imprisonment for the one, so he was active in his services against the other; not more dutifully submitting to the severity of K. James for his marriage, then loyally assisting the necessities of king Charles in his wars. It's natural to return an injury, it's heroical to overcome it; and be above it, when we are below our selves. It is true, he was drawn in to subscribe the untoward proposals at York; but it is as true, he did of his own accord declare against the unnatural war
 in

Char. I. in London, where the king advanced him to the tuition of the prince, and he went himself to the defence of the king: at what time such his popularity, that he raised an army himself; such his humility, that he yielded the command of it to another, as if he knew nothing but others merit, and his own wants; being one of those choice men that admire every thing in others, and see nothing in themselves. His face, his carriage, his habit “favoured of lowliness without affectation, and yet he was much under what he “seemed. His words were few and soft, never “either peremptory or censorious, because he “thought both each man more wise, and none “more obnoxious than himself; being yet neither *ignorant* nor *careless*, but naturally *meek*, lying ever close within himself, armed with those two master-pieces, *resolution* and *duty*, where with he mated the blackest events that did rather *exercise* than *dismay* that spirit that was above them, and that minde that looked beyond them: he was the easiest enemy, and the truest friend; whom extremities obliged, while (as the reverend bishop speaks) he as a well-wrought vault lay at home the stronger, by how much the more weight he did bear. He offered his life for his prince’s service in the field, and his person for his ransom at the court; and when many wished they might die for that excellent king, *he*, the earls of Lindsey and Southampton offered, That since his majesty was presumed by the law to do no harm himself, and since he did all by them his ministers, as they had the honour to act *under*, they might have the happiness to suffer *for* him.

Observations on the Life of *Sir John Finch.*

THIS family hath had an hereditary eminence Lloyd.
in the study of the law.—Sir Henry Finch
[the author of *ΝΟΜΟΤΕΧΝΟΣ*] a learned sergeant at
law in king James his time. Sir Heneage Finch
recorder of London in K. Charles's time, and
this noble person at the same time the queen's
attorney, and speaker of that curious, knowing,
and rich parliament, wherein some have observed,
though wide, I suppose, that the house of com-
mons modestly estimated [consisting of 500]
could buy the house of peers [consisting of 118]
thrice over.—Norimbergh in Germany, and Flo-
rence in Italy, would not of old admit of any
learned men in their council; because great lear-
ned men, saith *the historian* of those places, *are*
perplexed to resolve upon affairs, making many
doubts full of respects and imaginations—Sembla-
bly this parliament was too rich and curious to
do any good, though this noble personage, even
when the house-doors were shut, and he violent-
ly detained in his chair, refused to countenance
their proceedings, always abhorring Eliot's doc-
trine; *That men should not be questioned for offen-*
ces in parliament: as if that reverend assembly
were called for no other end, than that turbulent
spirits might be at liberty to speak treason once
every three years.

Char. I.

When he was questioned for his opinion about ship-money, his judgement was; *That if the whole were in danger, the whole should contribute—* When he was urged to read the remonstrance against sir R. W. 4 Car. in parliament, his opinion was; *That at any rate (though at the highest that can be) authority must be vindicated and redeemed from contempt, since the life of government is reputation.*

Observations on the Life of the Lord Say.

Lloyd.

WHETHER the first impressions of his tutor, (schoolmasters, though the most neglected, are not the most inconsiderable parts of a common-wealth :) the narrowness of his fortune (unequal to his honour; younger brothers of noble houses had need in every state to be observed) the repulse, 1613, (other men must look to *whom* they are kind, but princes to *whom* they are unkind) inclined this personage to popularity: this is certain, no man was better tempered for that humour than himself; being in his nature severe and rigid; in his carriage close and reserved; in his resolutions firm and immoveable; in his apprehension, provident and foreseeing; in his sentiments nice and curious:—in his discourse (full of fears and jealousies) dissatisfied and bold; in his followers irregular and pretending; in the law well seen; in the scripture very ready; in

in the occurrences of his age very exact : at lectures most constant ; to the liberty of the subject (then the *Diana* of the age) most faithful, inso-much that he made a motion 1628, *That they who stood for the liberties, forsooth, (then called the lower-house lords of the upper-house) not fifty might make their protestation upon record, and that the other party should with subscription of their names enter their reason upon record, that posterity might not be to seek (good lack) who they were that so ignobly betrayed the liberty of our nation :* and this being done, they should resolve themselves to a committee, and proceed to vote :—yet so well acquainted with the king's temper, that he would take any occasion of his being pleased by the parliament, to insinuate himself into favour with all his male-contents, as bishop Williams, earl of Lincoln, earl of Essex, the earl of Warwick, &c.

As he wrought upon the peoples humour in that point of liberty, so he did upon the nobilities temper in another of ambition : for in a petition to king James against foreign titles of honour, we finde him first in design, though last in subscription, teaching Essex, Warwick, St. John (for they joyned with him) to tilt against their soveraign's prerogative with their *pens*, as they did after with their *swords*..

And when this failed (the wise king awing the young lords to renounce that asunder, which they had subscribed together ; *none so bold as the factions in company, none so fearful apart*) the champion of English honour and priviledge, becomes the patron of propriety too ; for we read *Ter. Hill.*

Char. I. *Anno* 14. *Car.* 1. in *Banco Regis*, the lord Say's
 ~~~~~ case.—

**Action for Trover and Conversion of three Oxen taken (a great matter) for three pounds five shillings, by the sheriff of Lincoln, upon the plaintiff, towards the finding of a ship—**

A good reason, for going to law first, and then to war with his sovereign, as he did afterwards, when he had sent his son Nathaniel, with Hampden and Lawrence 1639. to settle the league with their dear brethren in Scotland, while he formed the grand design in England, with so much success, that when there were some overtures made for saving the earl of Strafford, and securing the kingdom by the party, upon condition of preferment, as that master Hampden should be tutor to the prince, the earl of Essex his governour, Mr. Pym chancellor of the exchequer, the earl of Warwick vice-admiral, he was to be master of the court of wards; which he compassed, when the rest mist of their expectation.—No more of him, but that the king going to Scotland, he refusing a protestation against the Scots, had these questions proposed to him:

1. Whether he would go with the king at his own charge.
2. Whether rebellion was a just cause of war.
3. Whether the taking of castles, towns, magazines, &c. was not rebellion.

To the first he answered; that though as a peer and subject, he could not be forced out of his countrey but upon extraordinary occasion; yet out of affection to his majesty, he would at-  
 tend



tend him, referring the matter of charge to him-  
self. Char. I.

To the two last he said, he understood not the law of Scotland, but that those proceedings were treason in England.

## *Observations on the Life of the Earl of Lindsey.*

**H**E and that whole family (I know not whether more pious, or more valiant; whether more renowned abroad, as confessors for their religion, or, as champions for their countrey) have been in this last age an ornament and a defence to this crown, equally revered by the subjects of it, and honoured by the sovereigns.

This noble-man and the earl of Essex did as Jugurtha and Manus, learn in one school what they practised in two: the one as a faithful subject, for that government that had obliged his family; the other as a discontented rebel, against that that had *disobliged* his: both commanders for the Palatinate against the emperor, and for Rochel against the French.

When the duke of Buckingham returned from the isle of Rhee, his majesty told him; *the neglect of his relief must lodge on his friend and confident, Holland* — To which he acknowledged; that indeed he had very affectionately intrusted him in ordinary affairs, but never in such an esteem, as to second him in arms, that place being



Char. 1. more proper for my lord of Lindsey—whose  
 judgement of that expedition was; *That it was  
 friendship in earnest, and war in jest.* He it was  
 that pursued twelve French vessels in his own sin-  
 gle one to their haven, heated at once with an-  
 ger and shame, he it was, who when all men  
 were amazed at the duke's fall, was assigned his  
 successor. Certainly, saith one there present, *he  
 was a person of no likely “ presence, but of consi-  
 “ derable experience, by his former expeditions;  
 “ and one that to the last of his life made good his  
 “ faith with gallantry and courage, notwithstand-  
 “ ing his ill success* (the times fate rather than his  
 fault) 1. In scouring the narrow seas, where he  
 was admiral, and the earl of Essex vice-admiral.  
 2. In presiding in several great courts on many  
 solemn occasions, the earl of Strafford's unpa-  
 rallel'd tryal, &c. And 3. In leading the king's  
 army at Edge-Hill with a pike in his hand.  
 Where what is observed of Cataline and his fol-  
 lowers, was true of this noble earl and his coun-  
 try-men, the loyal gentry of Lincolnshire, that  
 they covered the same place with *their corps  
 when dead, where they stood in the fight whilst  
 living.*

Obser-



## *Observations on the Life of Judge Richardson.*

**J**UDGE Richardson was born at Mulbarton; Lloyd. in Norfolk, his father being minister thereof and he a friend to ministers, though a foe of the church. He was bred in the study of our municipal law, and became the king's serjeant therein. Afterwards, on the 28 of November, 1626. he was sworn chief-justice of the common-pleas, that place having been void ten months before; wherein he was humourfom, but honest; only unhappy, in that he raised the Sabbatarian controverſie, by his orders againſt wakes in Somerſetſhire. His braſs monument on the ſouth-ſide of Weſtminſter-Abby, thus entertaineth the reader;

*Deo om.*

Thomæ Richardſoni Icæni Equitis Aurati  
*Humanum Depositu\*.*

*Ille.*

*Juris Municip. omnes gradus exantlavit*  
*Conventus tertii ordinis ann. Jacobi Regis 21, & 22.*

*Prolocutor extitit;*

*Fori civilis (communium Placitorum vocant)*  
*Supremum Magistratum quinquennium gessit;*  
*Ad summum tandem primarii per Angliam Judicis*  
*Tribunal*

U 4

A

\* The Substance of this Epitaph is fully explained in the Beginning of his Life.



Char. I.

*A Rege Carolo evectus : expiravit**Anno Ætatis 66. Salutis, MDCXXXIV.**Tho. Richardson fil. unicus Eques Aur. Baro Scotiae designatus**Patri incomparabili  
posuit.*

As one reason of his advancement, you must know, this judge married for his second wife the lady Eliz. Beaumont, the sister (as I take it) of Mary countess of Buckingham, and the relict of — Ashburnham knight. She was by king Charles created baroness of Croumont in Scotland ; and (though issueless by the judge) the honour descended to his grand-child. He died an enemy to bishop Williams, over-ruling all his pleas in his chamber in a quarter of an hour ; and yet, which was strange, at that time no friend to arch-bishop Laud, for he said, *the lawn-sleeves had choaked him.*

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### *Observations on the Life of Sir Tho. Coventry.*

Lloyd. **A** Competent estate he had for his education, and excellent abilities for advancement : his fortune was not wanting to his parts, nor his parts to his fortune ; the one being as ready to support, as the other was to raise him : his staid soul was well prepared for general learning in the schools



schools and university, for his particular learning at the Inns of court: his skill in the study of law called him no sooner to the bar, than his prudence to court: take we his character from his honour. Why was he created lord Coventry of Alisbury, and keeper of the great seal? why, saith the patent, for his *eminent fidelity*; for his *worthy service*; for his exact circumspection; for his deep prudence; for his constant resolution; for his skill and dexterity; for his *integrity* and *industry*; for his *immoveableness* and *fidelity*: no man more apprehensive of the interest of England, none more faithful to it: his kindness to the church and clergy argued his piety; his safe counsels to his majesty argued his moderation; his dignity rather enjoyed him, than he it: a man he was that filled up his great capacities, having digested a body of the most honest law, and a scheme of the most innocent policy that ever filled the head of an able statesman, or the heart of an upright judge. What belonged to him, he knew; and what he knew, he practised. He was as constant to his rule, as he knew his rule was to him: reserved he was, as the king's counsellor, *honest* as his *conscience*. We measure pyramides by their shadows, and this great lord by his followers; every one whereof, was \* eminent in his way, and all advanced. Each action of his, though never so little, yet great as himself, so gravely did he manage it, so solemnly did he perform it: his orders were seldom reversed, because mostly including the consent of parties,—few attorney-generals came off with less censure, and

\* The most pious, learned, wise, and Reverend Father in God, the Lord Arch-Bishop of Cant. was his Domestick.



Char. 1. and few lord keepers with less guilt; his predecessors miscarriages being foils to set off his exactness.——Eminent as in most other cases, so particularly in that of Pryn, Bastwick, and Burton; against whom, when after six weeks time given them to put in an effectual answer, they urged, that their adversaries the bishops should not be their judges: he replied smartly; that by that plea had they libelled all the magistrates in the land; none should pass censure upon them, because all were *made parties*.

He had fifteen years enjoyed his place; not more proper to say, that dignity had enjoyed him so long, this latter age affording not one every way of more apt qualifications for the place. His front and presence bespoke a venerable regard, not inferiour to any of his antecessors. His train and suit of followers was disposed agreeable, to shun both envy and contempt: vain and ambitious he was not; his port was state, though others ostentation. Of what concerned his place, he knew enough, and which is the main, acted conformable to his knowledge; for in the administration of justice, he was so erect, so incorrupt, as captious malice stands mute in the blemish of his fame. A miracle the greater, when we consider he was also a privy-councillor: a trust, wherein he served his master the king most faithfully; and the more faithfully, because of all those counsels which did disserve his majesty, he was an earnest disswader, and did much disaffect those sticklers who laboured to make the prerogative rather tall than great; as knowing that such men loved the king better than Charles Stuart. So that although he was a courtier, and had



had had for his master a passion most intense, Char. I  
yet had he always a passion reserved for the publick welfare; an argument of a free, noble, and right-principled mind; for what both court and country have always held as inconsistent, is in truth erroneous: and no man can be truly loyal who is not also a good patriot; nor any a good patriot, which is not truly loyal.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir  
Thomas Wentworth Earl of  
Strafford.*

SIR Thomas Wentworth earl of Strafford ow- Lloyd.  
eth his birth to the best governed city, London, his breeding to the best modelled school York, and a most exact colledge, St. John's in Cambridge; his accomplishments to the best tutors, travel and experience; and his prudence to the best school, a parliament, whither he came in the most active and knowing times, with a strong brain, and a large heart: his activity was *eminent* in his country, and his interest strong in parliament, where he observed *much*, and *pertinently*; spake *little*, but *home*, contrived effectually, but *closely*; carried his designs *successfully*, but *reservedly*: he apprehended the publick temper as clearly, and managed it to his purposes as orderly as any man: he spoke *least*, but *last of all*, with the advantage of a clear view of others reasons,



Char. 1. reasons, and the addition of his own : he and his leading confidents moulded that in a private conference, which was to be managed in a publick assembly : he made himself so considerable a patriot, that he was bought over to be a courtier : so great his abilities, that he awed a monarchy when dis-obliged, and supported it when engaged, the balance turning thither where this lord stood. The North was reduced by his prudence, and Ireland by his interest : he did more there in two years, than was done in two hundred before.

1. Extinguishing the very reliques of the war.
2. Setting up a standing army.
3. Modelling the revenue.
4. Removing the very roots and occasions of new troubles.
5. Planting and building.
6. Settling ecclesiastical and civil courts.
7. Recovering the hearts of the people by able pastors and bishops, by prudent and sober magistrates ; by justice and protection ; by obligations and rewards.
8. Recovering the churches patrimony and discipline.
9. Employing most able and fruitful ministers and instruments,
10. Taking an exact view of all former precedents, rules, and proceedings.
11. An exact correspondence with his majesty, and the favourites of England.

None was more conversant in the factions, intrigues, and designs, than he when a commonwealths-man ; none abler to meet with them than he when a statesman : he understood their methods, kenned their wiles, observed their designs  
looked



looked into their combinations, comprehended Char. I. their interest: and as king Charles understood best of any monarch under heaven what he could do in point of conscience, so his Strafford apprehended best of any counsellor under the sun what he could do in point of power: he and my lord of Canterbury having the most particular account of the state of Great Britain and Ireland of any persons living. Nature is often hidden, sometimes overcome, seldom extinguished; yet doctrine and discourse had much allayed the severity of this earl's nature, and custom more: none more austere to see to, none more obliging to speak with: he observed pauses in his discourse to attend the motion, and draw out the humour of other men; at once commanding his own thoughts, and watching others: his passion was rather the vigour, than the disorder of his well-weighed soul; which could dispense its anger with as much prudence, as it managed any act of state. He gave his majesty safe counsel in the prosperity of his affairs, and resolute advice in extremity, as a true servant of his interest rather than of his power.

So eminent was he and my lord of Canterbury, that rebellion despaired of success as long as the first lived, and schism of licentiousness as long as the second stood. Take my lord of Strafford as accused, and you will find his *Integrity* and *Ability*, that he managed his whole government either by the law, or the interest of his countrey. Take him as dying, and you will see his *parts* and *piety*; his resolution for himself, his self-resignation for the kingdoms good; his devotion for the church, whose patrimony he forbade



Char. 1. bad his son upon his blessing.—Take him as  
 ~~~~~ dead, you will find him glorious and renowned  
 in these three characters.

The first of the best King.

Εικων Βα- I looked upon my lord of *Strafford*, as a gen-
 σιλ. Me- tleman whose great abilities might make a prince
 ditat. 2. rather afraid, than ashamed to employ him in the
 greatest affairs of state : for *those* were prone to
 create in him great confidence of undertakings,
 and *this* was like enough to betray him to great
 errors, and many enemies ; whereof he could
 not but contract great store, while moving in so
 high a sphere, and with so vigorous a lustre, he
 must needs (as the sun) raise many envious ex-
 halations ; which condensed by a popular odium,
 were capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest
 merit and integrity : though I cannot in my judg-
 ment approve all he did, driven (it may be) by
 the necessities of times, and the temper of that
 people, more than led by his own disposition to
 any heighth and rigour of action, &c.

The second of the best Historian.

He was a person of a generous spirit, fitted
 for the noblest exercises, and the most difficult
 parts of empire : his counsels were bold, yet just ;
 and he had a vigour proper for the execution of
 them : of an eloquence next that of his masters,
 masculine and excellent. He was no less affecti-
 onate to the church, than to the state ; and not
 contented while living, to defend the govern-
 ment and patrimony of it, he commended it also
 to his son when he was about to dye, and char-
 ged

ged his abhorrence of sacrilege: his enemies Char. 1.
called the majesty of his miene in his lieutenancy,
pride; and the undaunted execution of his office
on the contumacious, the insolency of his for-
tune. He was censured for that fatal error of fol-
lowing the king to *London*, and to the parlia-
ment, after the pacification at *York*: and it was
thought, that if he had gone over to his charge
in *Ireland*, he might have secured both himself
and that kingdom for his majesties service: but
some attribute this counsel to a necessity of fate,
whose first stroke is at the brain of those whom it
designs to ruine, and brought him to feel the ef-
fects of popular rage, which himself in former
parliaments had used against government, and to
finde the experience of his own devices upon the
duke of *Buckingham*. Providence teacheth us to
abhor over-fine counsels, by the mischiefs they
often bring upon their authors.

The third, of common fame.

“ A gentleman he was of rare, choice, and
“ singular endowments, I mean, of such as mo-
“ delled, fashioned, and accomplished him for
“ state-concernments; of a searching and pene-
“ trating judgment, nimble apprehensions, rea-
“ dy and fluent in all results of counsel. Most
“ happy in the vein of speech, which was al-
“ ways round, perspicuous, and expresse, much
“ to the advantage of his sense, and so full
“ stocked with reason, that he might be rather
“ said to demonstrate, than to argue. As these
“ abilities raised him to state-administration, so
“ his addressing, his applying those abilities so
“ faithfully in promotion of the royal interest,
“ soon rendered him a favourite of the first ad-
“ mission:

Char. I. “ mission : so that never king had a more intel-
 “ ligent, and withal a firmer servant than he was
 “ to his master. But these qualities which ren-
 “ dred him so aimable to his majesty, represen-
 “ ted him formidable to the *Scots*, so that some
 “ who were not well perswaded of the justness
 “ of his sentence, thought he suffered not so
 “ much for what he had done already, as for
 “ what he was like to have done, had he lived,
 “ to the disservice of that nation : and that he
 “ was not sacrificed so much to the *Scots revenge*,
 “ as to their *fear*. And certainly his fall was
 “ the first, so the most fatal wound the king’s
 “ interest ever received : his three kingdoms
 “ hardly affording another Strafford, that is,
 “ one man his peer in parts and fidelity to his
 “ majesty. He had a singular passion for the
 “ government and patrimony of the church, both
 “ which he was studious to preserve safe and
 “ sound ; either opining them to be of sacred
 “ extraction ; or at least prudent constitution,
 “ relating to holy performances. And had he
 “ wanted these positive graces, yet in so great a
 “ person it may be commendable, that he was
 “ eminent for privative and negative excellencies,
 “ being not taxable with any vice ; those petty
 “ pleasures being beneath the satisfaction of a
 “ soul so large as his. In short, saith the inge-
 “ nious gentleman, he was a man who might
 “ have passed under a better notion, had he
 “ lived in better times.

This last period is a question, since this great statesman, and his good master’s goodness was so over-shadowed with their greatness and their vertue so lost in their power, as the sun (the apt-
 est

est parallel of their lustre and beneficence) is hid Char. I.
in his own light, that they owe their great, but
glorious fame to their misfortunes, and their re-
nown to their ruine, that levelled their worth,
otherwise as much out of their reach as their
place, to vulgar apprehensions. Eclipsed lustre,
like a veiled beauty, is most looked on, when
most covered.—The setting sun is more *glorious*
than its self in its meridian, because more low:
and the lowest planet seems biggest to a com-
mon eye.

So faithful he was, and the arch-bishop, that
in the Juncto consisting of them two and duke
Hamilton, they voted a parliament, though they
knew themselves the first sufferers by it: and so
confident of his integrity, that when he had trea-
son enough discovered at the late transactions in
York (touching the Scots conspiracy) to charge
his enemies with, he waved the advantage; and
secure in his own innocence, fell an instance of
that maxim; *That there is no danger small, but
what is thought so.* This was his great principle;
*Usurped royalty was never laid down by perswasion
from royal clemency; for * in armis jus omne
regni.*

VO L. II.

X

Obser:

• By Arms alone a Government can assert its right.

Observations on the Lives of Henry Earl of Holland, and Robert Earl of Warwick.

Lloyd.

HENRY earl of Holland, and Robert earl of Warwick, both brothers, had the same education at home, and the same admittance to court—only the elder having an estate, brought not thither that compliance and observance that the younger did that wanted it. The one therefore is serious in his carriage, harsh and rough in his spirit, stubborn in his constitution, steady in his course, stern in his comportments, sly and close in his conduct; choosing rather to improve himself in America by trade, than in England by courtship; *something* inclined to the faction by the principles of his education, more by those of his interest. The other owned not a greater smoothness in his face, than in his soul; being very taking in his countenance, more in his converse. The first being not more *lovely*, than the last was *obliging*.—While a courtier, so much was he in favour with king James, that one morning as he and mr. Ramsey waited on his majesty, and two porters came by with some money, he did but smile on Ramsey, and tell his majesty, who asked why he smiled, that it was to think what good that money would do him, and he had it: his royal master whose heart

was

was as large as his kingdome, adding, *I'll warrant you, you are glad of this; let me tell you, I have more pleasure in bestowing this money, than you in possessing it: so much a more blessed thing it is to give than to receive.* Char. 1.

While embassador in France (where he represented a king in his state and port, as well as in his place) so great was he with the queen-mother, that he was admitted to all treatments: that he had the honour of all entertainments; that he commanded the king's ears, understood the Spanish policies, dived into the French humour and inclination. All the while he was in Paris, his observations were minute and particular, his addresses wary and reserved (never opening the marriage-treaty until he was sure of a good reception) his working upon Madams affection close and artificial; his counter-plots to the Spanish insinuations nimble and effectual; his correspondence with the duke of Bucks, weekly and constant; his contracts with count Soisons, and madam Blanvile, in behalf of her husband here in England, resolute and honourable (urging very nobly and successfully, that the clamours of a turbulent agent was not to out-weigh the favour of a mighty monarch.) The discovery he made of the duke of Buckingham's enemies, their cabals and oaths from the said Blanviles letters, was seasonable and compleat; but his master-piece was his command over all affections and tempers but his own so soft and smooth, that it endured not the roughness of the following times, wherein he was very unsettled when commissioner in Scotland, while he lived, and very fearful when he died:

X 2

Char. 1. died: the fate of all delicate and too fine constitutions.

It hath been the method of grandees to endear themselves to *power* for a present interest, and to *learning* for their future fame; to add the renown of the *one*, to the greatness of the other. Neither was this lord more careful to succeed his great friend the duke of Buckingham in his favour at court, as captain of the guard, and groom of the stool, than in his *place* at the *university* as chancellor, of which he expresth himself thus to his Cambridge, That his master had raised his fortune beyond wishing in this world, that he could desire no more than a fair name when he was gone out of it; which the university contributed, to whom he devoted his interest.

Though they answered not his expectation in their contributions for St. Paul's, and other particulars, wherein he was defeated and over-born by the busie faction, who thought it a vain thing to repair any church, when they intended to pull down all.

After all, this great man is a great instance of that observation, *viz.* That when able and prudent men are brought on the stage to manage their own parts, they are then (mostly) not of the clearest sight, and commonly commit such errors as are both discernable and avoidable, even by men of mean abilities——Although I find him subject to no great error before the war, save that when Dr. Preston was by his party judged of so great parts as to make a fit patron for them, and thereupon directed to appear aloof (the way of court-observers) in his addrestes to the duke of Buckingham by his confidant the earl of Holland,

land, whose family favoured that side, though Char. 1. the duke said he knew him, and so would use him accordingly: yet this earl was so far over-reached by him, that in the apology the doctor writ under-hand to his partizans touching his court-compliance, he sheweth he over-reached the court-wits; as indeed he was a great politician, and used (Lap-wing-like) to flutter most on that place which was farthest from his eggs: a copy of which letter, with some satyrical stanzaes was found unsealed in the streets, and carried to the duke; a noble friend discovering to the doctor, *how witty he was in rhyme*, to the breaking of his heart, he confessing then *he was undone*, especially when the duke's barber could finger the letter out of his lord's pocket as he was directed. And now I cannot but remember how this earl at his death said, *He had been a friend to godly ministers, as had his friends before him, by whom he had been instructed when young*. Whence I collect, that the members of those great families, into which the godly ministers, *i. e.* peevish, factious, and discontented persons which usurp that precious name, insinuate themselves, and their principles, seldom come to their grave in peace; they usually instilling into them such imaginations as make their lives unquiet, and their deaths dishonourable.—Whence the good old lord Willoughby would say, *Carry the peevish man this* (speaking of one Chambers a separatist) *but tell him he must not come under my roof, for I will not meddle with them that are given to change, whose calamity ariseth suddenly, and who knoweth the ruine of them both?*

Char. I. To conclude, it is observed as the reason why he fell off from the parliament, that the wary Sirs would not trust two brothers, him and the earl of Warwick with supream commands; therefore when they voted the one admiral, they denyed the other general of the horse. Both are characterized by their contemporaries for natural endowments excellent; for temper sweet and loving; for behaviour, affable and courteous; for spirit, meek and lowly; of the same inclinations before and after their advancement: *In honore sine tumore*; lifted up with honour, but not puffed up with pride.

Observations on the Life of Archbishop Laud.

Lloyd.

THE pregnancy of his childhood promised the wisdom of his riper years, and obliged his friends beyond their abilities to support, and strangers beyond expectation to his encouragement: some persons offering him great sums of money for his maintenance in his younger years, upon the bare security of his parts, which paid them well in his more reduced age. None more observant of favour, none more mindful of kindnesses, and none more grateful for civilities: He was so wise as seldom to forget an injury in the consequence of it, and so noble as ever to remember love in the return of it. His honest parents conveyed him an excellent temper, and that

that temper a brave spirit; which had the advantage of his birth, some say at Reading, some at Henley, at an equal distance from the university, where he was to be a scholar; and the court, where he was to be a *man*: In the first of these, his indefatigable industry, his methodical study, his quick apprehension, his faithful memory, his solid judgement, his active fancy, his grave and quick countenance, his sharpe and piercing eye, raised him by discreet and wary steps to all the preferments, and commended him to all the employments of the university, when proctor whereof he was admitted for his prudence to the earl of Devonshire's service, which hazarded; and when divinity-reader, observed by the lords of Rochester and Lincoln for his judgement, which advanced him. As his design was above the level of modern Sciolists, so were his studies not prepossessed with the partial systemes of Geneva, but freely conversant with the impartial volumes of the church-catholick: he had an infallible apprehension of the doctrine and discipline, and a deep insight into the interest of Christianity: this capacious soul conversed with the most knowing of all judgements, to finde the bottom of all errors; and with the most judicious of his own, to discern the grounds of all truth. He had his eye on the university to reduce it, when head of St. John's; on the lower functions of the church in his pastoral charges, to reform them; and upon the higher, when dean of Gloucester, prebend of Westminster, and bishop of St. Davids, to settle them. He was a man of that search and judgement, that he found out the principles of government that were true to the church; of that faithfulness and re-

Char. I. resolution, that amidst all discouragement, he was true to them: the church government he found by *many* private spirited men, accommodated to their ease and interest, he adjusted to truth and settlement; consulting not humours which are uncertain as interest, but truth which is certain as eternity. Arch-Bishop Abbot's *Yield, and they will be pleased at last*, was a great miscarriage, Arch-Bishop Laud's *Resolve, for there is no end of yielding*, was great policy. His great reach in government suitable to that king's apprehensions, commended him to king James; his vast ability and integrity, to k. Charles and the duke of Buckingham; to the first whereof he was a privy-councillour, to the other a bosom-friend, before both whom he laid the best representations and ideas of the English government, as to things and persons in several abstracts, of any man under Heaven. I have heard a statesman say, *That none knew the joints, turnings, flexures, and interests of all parties in church or state, that were either to be encouraged or suppressed, with the seasons and opportunities to do it, so well as dr. Laud.*

Discerning was his fore-sight, compleat his intelligence, exact his correspondence, quick his dispatches; seasonable and effectual his sermons and discourses, inquisitive and observing his converse. His instruments were able and knowing men, that were faithful to the church, as he was in Manwaring and Montagu's case to them; *Knowing well* (as he wrote to my lord of Buckingham) *That discouragements would deter men of parts, whom encouragements might make serviceable.* He knew, no man better, how to temper a parliament, having a catalogue of all the nobility and gentry, with their interest and inclination in
his

his eye: he understood, none more exactly, what Char. 1. was to be discoursed and proposed to them, having a clear apprehension of the several junctures and tendencies of affairs. He entertained no thought but what was publick in his breast; no man, but what was nobly spirited in his familiarity: ever watchful he was of all opportunities to advance the churches honour, 1. In her sons, as Bishop Juxon, &c. 2. Her discipline, as in his several visitations, articles, Star-chamber, and high-commission matters. 3. In her endowments, as the buying of impropriations in Ireland. 4. In her privilege, as the Canons of England. 5. In her ornaments, as the repairing and furnishing of St. Paul's and most other churches in his province. 6. In her universities, as the statutes of Oxford, the privileges of Cambridge, and his vast gifts of oriental books and buildings, and his vaster design for both,—and as watchful against all the designs to undermine it. The Feoffees for impropriations he laid aside; the Sabbatizing and Predestinarian controversies he silenced; the licentious press he reduced; dignities and preferments he worthily filled up; bribes at court he retrenched: no interest, no alliance could ever advance an unworthy person while he lived; *Breed up your children well, and I will provide for them*, was his saying to all his relations. Many a man would be disobliged by his sternness at first view, for whom if deserving, he would afterwards contrive kindnesses by after and unexpected favours. No place of experience did he ever miss, none of employment did he ever decline: he would never see authority baffled, but either wave all proceedings against
offen-

Char. I offenders, or go through with them; his prosecutions, as in Leighton's case, were close: his observation of all circumstances, as in Lincoln's, wary; his declarations of the cases clear and convincing, as in Pryn's, Bastwick's and Burton's; his sentence milde and compassionate, as in Waller's; his resolution and justice ever making way to his mercy, and his mercy crowning his justice: often did he confer with the ablest and most orthodox clergy, with the most experienced and knowing *Civilians*, with the most observing and reserved courtiers, with the profoundest lawyers, with the skilfullest and discreetest mechanicks; out of all whose opinions the result was, his most exact judgement in any case that came before him at court, or at Lambeth.

The roughness of his nature sent most men discontented from him: but so, that he would often of himself find ways and means to sweeten such as had any worth again, when they least looked for it.—Many were offended at his prudent zeal against the Jewish sabbatism in his government, who were very well satisfied with the strictness of his observation of the Lord's day in his person.—But let one great man express another; bishop Gauden, arch-bishop Laud; whose thoughts lye so much the more levelled to his brave sentiments, as his dignity did to his high place.

“As to his secret design of working up this
 “church by little and little to a Romish conformity and captivity, I do not believe (saith he)
 “he had any such purpose or approved thought;
 because,

because, beside his declared judgment and conscience, I find no secular policy or interest which he could thereby gain, either private or publick, but rather lose much of the greatness and freedom which he and other bishops, with the whole church had: without which temptation, no man in charity may be suspected to act contrary to so clear convictions, so deliberate and declared determinations of his conscience and judgement in religion, as the arch-bishop expresses in his very excellent book. I am indeed prone to think, that possibly he wished there could have been any fair close or accommodation between all christian churches, (the same which many grave and learned men have much desired:) and it may be his lordship thought himself no unfit instrument to make way to so great and good a work, considering the eminencies of his parts, power, and favour which he had. Haply he judged (as many learned and moderate men have) that in some things between papists and protestants, differences are made wider, and kept more open, raw and sore than need be, by the private pens and passions of some men, and the interests of some little parties, whose partial policies really neglect the publick and true interest of the catholick church and christian religion; which consists much in peace as well as in purity, in charity, as in verity. He found that where papists were silenced and convinced in the more grand and pregnant disputes (that they are novel, partial, and unconform to catholick churches in ancient times) than he found they recovered spirits, and contested afresh against the unreasonable transports, violences, and immoderations of some profes-

Char. I. professing to be protestants ; who, to avoid idolatry and superstition, run to sacrilege and rudeness in religion, denying many things that are just, honest, safe, true and reasonable, meerly out of an (*'Αμετρία*) excessive antipathy to papists. Possibly the arch-bishop and some other bishops of his mind did rightly judge, that the giving of an enemy fair play by just, safe, and honourable concessions, was not to yield the conquest to him, but the most ready way to convince him of his weakness ; when no honest yieldings could help him any more, than they did endanger the true cause or courage of his antagonist.

For my part, I think the arch-bishop of Canterbury was neither *Calvinist*, nor *Lutheran*, nor *Papist*, as to any side or party ; but all, so far as he saw, they agreed with the reformed church of England, either in fundamentals, or innocent and decent superstructures : yet I believe he was so far a protestant, and of the reformed religion, as he saw the church of England did protest against the errors, corruptions, usurpations, and superstitions of the church of Rome, or against the novel opinions and practices of any party whatsoever. And certainly he did with as much honour or justice so far own the authentick authority, liberty and majesty of the church of England (in its reforming and settling of its religion) that he did not think fit any private new masters whatsoever, should obtrude any foreign or domestick dictates to her, or force her to take her copy of religion from so petty a place as Geneva was, or Frankfort, or Amsterdam, or Wittenberg, or Edenborough ; no nor from Augsburg,

Augsburg, or Arnheim, nor any foreign city or town, any more than from Trent or Rome; none of which had any dictatorial authority over this great and famous nation or church of England, further than they offered sober counsels, or suggested good reasons, or cleared true religion by scripture, and confirmed it by good antiquity, as the best interpreter and decider of obscure places, and dubious cases. Char. 1.

Which high value, it is probable, as to his mother the church of England, and her constitutions, was so potent in the arch-bishop of Canterbury, that, as he thought it not fit to subject her to the insolency of the church of Rome, so not to the impertinences of any other church or doctor, of far less repute in the christian world. No doubt his lordship thought it not handsome in Mr. Calvin to be so censorious of the church of England, as to brand its devotion or liturgy with his *tolerabiles ineptiae*, who knew not the temper of the nation, requiring then not what was absolutely best, but most conveniently good: and such not only the liturgy was, but those things which he calls tollerable toys. I having occasion to speak with him, he upon a time was pleased to grant me access, and some freedom of speech with him; and withal asked me the opinion of the people of him: I told him they reported his lordship had endeavoured to betray the church of England to the Roman correspondency and communion. He at length very calmly and gravely thus replied; protesting with a serious attesta-

Char. I. attestation of his integrity before God's omniscience, that however he might mistake in the mean and method, yet he never had other design than the glory of God, the service of his majesty, the good order, peace and decency of the church of England: that he was so far from complying with papists, in order to confirm them in their errors, that he rather chose such methods to advance the honour of the reformed religion in England, as he believed might soon silence the cavils of fiercer papists, induce the more moderate recusants to come in to us, as having less visible occasion given them by needless distances and disputes to separate from us; which he thought arose much from that popular variety, inconstancy, easiness, irreverence, and uncomliness, which might easily grow among us in the outward profession of religion, for want of observing such uniformity and decency in religion, as were required by the laws and canons of this church and state. He added, that he had (further) a desire, as much as he could to relieve the poor and depressed condition of many ministers, which he had to his grief observed in Wales and England, where their discouragements were very great, by reason of the tenuity and incompetency of their livings; that in his visitations he had sometimes seen it with grief, among twenty ministers, not one man had so much as a decent garment to put on, nor did he believe their other treatment of life was better; that he found the sordid and shameful aspect of religion and the clergy, gave great advantages to those that were popishly inclined, who would hardly

hardly ever think it best for them to joyn with Char. 1. that church which did not maintain either its own honour, or its clergy to some competency and comeliness.

Much more discourfes his lordship was pleased to use at feveral times to this purpose, which commands my charity to clear him, as far as I can judge, of any tincture of popery truly fo called; or of any superstition, which placeth a religion in the nature and use of that thing which God hath not either particularly commanded, or in general permitted. I suppose he thought, that where God hath allowed to his church, and to every private christian (so far as may consist with the churches order and peace) a liberty of ceremonious and circumstantial decency as to God's worship; there neither himself was to be blamed, nor did he blame other men, if they kept within those discreet and inoffensive bounds, which either the churches publick peace required, or its indulgence to promote christians permitted.

The uniformity he pressed was not more advantageous to religion, which must of necessity have been propagated, when controversies had been turned to devotion, than it was necessary for the state; which cannot be secure, as long as there is a mark of distinction, under which all male-contents may shrowd themselves; a note of separation, whereby the factions may reckon their parties, and estimate their strength, and a way open to popularity to the ambition of any whose interest or desperateness shall adventure to make himself head of so great a party.

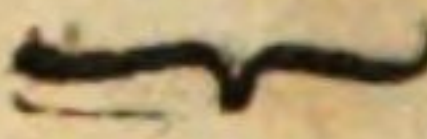
“ He was a person of so great abilities (which
 “ are the designations of nature to dignity and
 “ com-

Char. I.

“ command) that they raised him from low be-
 “ ginnings to the highest office the protestant
 “ profession acknowledgeth in the church, and
 “ he was equal to it: his learning appeared emi-
 “ nent in his book against Fisher, and his piety
 “ illustrious in his diary: he was of so publick
 “ a spirit, that both the church and state have
 “ lasting monuments of the virtuous use he
 “ made of his prince’s favour; at his admittance
 “ into which, he dedicated all the future emo-
 “ luments of it to the glory of God, and the
 “ good of men, by a projection of many noble
 “ works: most of which he accomplished, and
 “ had finished the rest, had not the fate of
 “ the nation checked the current of his de-
 “ sign, and cut off the course of his life.
 “ He was not contented by himself only to serve
 “ his generation, (for so he might appear more
 “ greedy of fame, than desirous of the univer-
 “ sal benefit) but he endeavoured to render all
 “ others as heroick, if they aimed at a capacity
 “ for his friendship: for (I have heard it from
 “ his enemies) no great man was admitted to
 “ a confidence and respect with him, unless he
 “ made address by some act that was for the
 “ common good, or for the ornament and glory
 “ of the protestant faith. Learned men had
 “ not a better friend, nor learning it self a grea-
 “ ter advancer. He searched all the libraries of
 “ Asia, and from several parts of the world
 “ purchased all the ornaments and helps of lite-
 “ rature he could, that the English church
 “ might have (if possible) by his care, as many
 “ advantages for knowledge, as almost all
 “ Europe did contribute to the grandeur of that
 “ of

“ of Rome. The outward splendour of the Char. 1.
 “ clergy was not more his care, than their ho-
 “ nour, by a grave and pious conversation. He
 “ would put them into a power of doing more
 “ good, but was fore against their vices and va-
 “ nities. He scorned a private treasure, and
 “ his friends were rather relieved, than raised to
 “ any greatness by him. In his election of
 “ friends, he was determined to the good and
 “ wise, and such as had both parts and desire to
 “ profit. The church had his closest embraces;
 “ if otherwise it happened, their frauds, not
 “ his choice deserved the blame. Both papists
 “ and sectaries were equally his enemies; one
 “ party feared, and the other hated his vertues.
 “ Some censured his zeal for discipline above
 “ the patience of the times: but his greatest
 “ unhappiness was, that he lived in a factious
 “ age, and corrupt state, and under such a
 “ prince, whose vertue not admitting an imme-
 “ diate reproach for accusations, was to be
 “ wounded with those it did carefs. But when
 “ faction and malice are worn out by time, po-
 “ sterity shall engrave him in the Albe of the
 “ most excellent prelacy, the most indulgent fa-
 “ thers of the church, and the most injured
 “ martyrs. His blood was accompanied with
 “ some tears that fell from those eyes that ex-
 “ pected a pleasure at his death; and it hath
 “ been followed with miseries, and the present
 “ fears of ruine exacted all the stock of grief
 “ for other objects.

His very enemy sir Edward Deering would
 confess; *That let him dye when he would, St.*

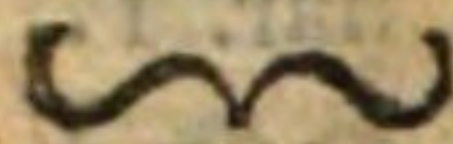
Char. I. *Paul's would be his Monument, and his book a-*
 *gainst Fisher his Epitaph.*

*Observations on the Life of
 the Lord Keeper Littleton.*

Lloyd.

SIR Edward Littleton, the eldest son of sir Edward Littleton. of Mounslow in Shropshire, one of the justices of the marches, and chief-justice of North-Wales, was bred in Christ-Church in Oxford, where he proceeded bachelor of arts, and afterwards was one of the justices of North-Wales, recorder of London, and solicitor to king Charles. From these places he was preferred to be chief-justice of the Common-Pleas, and made privy-councillour; thence advanced to be lord-keeper, and baron of Mounslow, the place of his nativity. He died in Oxford, and was buried in Christ's-Church, where he was bred:—Being a member of the parliament 1628, he had the management of the high presumption charged on the duke of Buckingham about king James his death; wherein he behaved himself so discreetly between the jealousy of the people, and the honour of the court, that sir John Finch would say, *He was the only man for taking things by a right handle.*—And sir Edward Cook, that *He was a well-poized and weighed man.* His very name carried an hereditary credit with it, which much plaineth out the way

to all great actions : his vertue being authorized Char. 1. by his nobility, and his undertakings ennobled by his birth, gained that esteem, which meaner men attain not without a large compass of time and experience : worthless nobility and ignoble worth lye under equal disadvantage. Neither was his extract so great as his parts ; his judgement being clear and piercing ; his learning various and useful ; his skill in the maxims of our government, the fundamental laws of his monarchy with its statutes and customs, *singular* ; his *experience long and observing* ; his *integrity unblemished and unbyassed* ; his eloquence powerful and majestick, and *all* befitting a statesman and a lord-keeper :—set off with a resolved loyalty that would perform the hardest service his master could enjoyn him while he stayed at London, and follow the hardest fortune he could be in when at York, whither he went with the great seal he knew made to stamp royal commissions, rather than authorize rebellious ordinances. At Oxford he did good service during the session of parliament by accommodations there, and as good during their recess by his interest in the country.



Observations on the Life of the Marquess Hamilton.

Lloyd.

A Preacher being at a loss what to say of a party deceased, concluded his sermon with these words; *There is one good quality in this man, viz. That he was born, and that God made him: And another, viz. That he is dead, and we must speak nothing but good of the dead.*

I may say of this noble-man, that I have two reasons to speak well of him. 1. That good king Charles honoured him; and 2. That his wicked subjects beheaded him,—otherwise I must leave these queries as I find them.

Quere 1. Why should duke Hamilton post without leave into Scotland, when the parliament was discontented, and the duke of Buckingham murdered in England?

Qu. 2. Why should Ramsey the duke's messenger to the king of Sweden, play the embassador in Germany, and take place of all other persons there?

Qu. 3. What design was that which Elphinston, Borthrick, Meldrum, Uchiltry, &c, discovered one to another?

Qu. 4. What did Ramsey with the pedigree of Hamilton derived from James I. king of Scots in foreign parts?

Qu. 5

Qu. 5. What private instructions had Meldrum Char. 1.
to Scottish officers in the Swedish army ?

Qu. 6. Why was Meldrum, Alexander Hamilton, and other his dependants, so preferred in the Scots army ?

Qu. 7. Why were there such fears and jealousies whispered in Germany, of the English government ?

Qu. 8. Why was not Ramsey able to give a positive answer at the tryal by combat ? and why did the marquess take him off before the controverſie was decided ?

Qu. 9. Why is Huntly put by, and Hamilton made high commissioner ? why is discontented Balcanquel employed to pen declarations ? and why are the king's papers, letters, &c. taken out of his pocket, and betrayed to the Scots ; and why did the arch-bishop of Canterbury (writing to the king) wish him not to trust his own pockets with the letter ?

Qu. 10. Why doth his mother ride with pistols at her saddle-bow, leading all her kindred and vassals for the covenant ?

Qu. 11. Why is that time spent in posting to and fro to patch up a base pacification with the rebels, that might have been employed in suppressing them ?

Qu. 12. Why did the bishops of Ross and Breben, sir Robert Spotswood, sir John Hay, the earl of Sterling, ride post to England to intreat the king not to trust the marquess ?

Qu. 13. Why was there so much granted to the covenanters in Scotland—yea and time given them to do their business ?

Char. I.

Qu. 14. Why did he forbear the common-prayer at Dalkieth, and neglect to *protest* the king's gracious declaration; the justice and clemency whereof had without doubt allayed the commotions?

Qu. 15. Why did he not set out the king's last declaration before the covenanters protestation was out against it?

Qu. 16. Why was there nothing done with the ships sent upon the coasts of Scotland;

Qu. 17. Why did he so care for his covenanting mother, that the Scots could say; *The son of so good a Mother could do them no harm?*

Qu. 18. Why had he a hand in most of the monopolies and projects of England?

Qu. 19. Why did he refuse to contribute as others had done to the Scots wars?

Qu. 20. Why did he intercede for Lowndon's release, notwithstanding the traitorous letter to the French king was his hand?

Qu. 21. How comes Montrose to be slighted by the gracious king at first? and when he offered his service again, how came his letters into the covenanters hands at Newcastle?

Qu. 22. Why did he and Argyle raise such fears and jealousies in Scotland and England by withdrawing suddenly from the court, under pretence forsooth of danger to their persons?

Qu. 23. Why could not the king hear of the Scots design to invade England, 1643, before Montrose posted first to Oxford, and then to Gloucester to tell him of it, though the marquis was all the while in Scotland?

Qu. 24. And yet why was that noble person mistrusted till the king's interest was lost in that country?

Qu. 25.

Qu. 25. Why was he and his brother imprisoned at Oxford? and why did the king say, *Nay, if Hamilton leads them, there is no good to be done for me?* Char. r.

Qu. 26. Why did the king say, that he must dispose of the master of the horse place to the earl of N. That my lord Cottington was the fittest man for the treasury, and that sir Edward Hyde was the onely man he could trust with the secretaries affairs? being loth that D. H. should return to an opportunity of recozening them: questions these, that shew, after-ages can scan great mens lives with the same liberty that they live them.

Observations on the Life of Sir Ralph Hopton.

GENTILE was this excellent person's extraction in the west of England, and man-like his education in the Low-countreys, that school of war where sir William Waller and he learned in one camp, what they practised in two: the one being no less eminent for his service under his late majesty of blessed memory, than the other was for his against him. The one was the best souldier the king had; the other the most experienced that the pretended parliament boasted of. None fitter to balance sir Ralph Hopton's success; none likelier to understand his stratagems; none abler to undermine his designs, than

Char. 1. his fellow-foldier, fir William, who understood his method as well as he was acquainted with his person. Both were equally active, both equally vigilant. But what better character of this heroe, than that which his master gave him in his patent for baron, which is his history as well as honour?

* *Carolus dei gratia Angliæ, &c. cum & nominis nostri & posteritatis interest, & ad clara exempla propaganda utilissimè compertum, palam fieri omnibus præmia, apud nos virtuti sita, nec perire fidelium subditorum officia, sed memori & benevolo pectore fixissimè insidere: his præsertim temporibus cum plurimum (quibus antebac nimium indulsimus) temerata, aut suspecta fides, pretium aliorum constantiæ addidit. Cumq; nobis certo constat Radulphum Hopton militem de balneo splendidis & antiquis natalibus; tum in cætera sua vita integritatis & moris eximium, tum in hac novissima tempestate, fatalique regni & rebelli motu, rari animi fideique exemplum edidisse, regiæ dignitatis in eaq; publicæ contra utriusq; adversarios assertorem & vindicem acerrimum.*

Quippe quia non solum nascenti huic furori (nec dum omnibus manifesto) optimis consiliis fortis in curia senator restiterit; sed insinuante se latius veneno, & crescente ferocia domum ad suos reversus fortior miles in agro suo Somersetensi & vicinis partibus omni ope & manu iniquissimam causam oppugnaverit, in arce præsertim Sberborniana, sub auspiciis marchionis Hertfordiæ egregiam operam navaverit. Mox ulterius progressus pollenti in Devonia factionis Tyrannide, & munitissima civitate in fædus illecta, & jam undique bonis subditis perniciem

* Exemplified by his Chaplain Tho. Fritter.

ciem minante, ipse penè in illa regione hospes, contracto Char. 1.
 è Cornubia Milite, & primoribus statim impetum
 eorum repressit jacentesq; & afflictas nostras partes
 mirifica virtute recreavit. Et licet summis necessita-
 tibus conflanti exigua pars negotii hostes erant,
 tantum absuit ut vel illis, vel istis succumberet, ut
 contra copias auctiores, & bellico apparatu instruct-
 issimas, sæpius signis collatis in acie dimicans sem-
 per superior excesserit: Testis Launcestonia, Saltash,
 Bradock, aliaque obscura olim nomina & loca, nunc
 victoriis illius & perduellium cladibus nobilitata. Vix
 etiam ab his respiraverit, cum novus belli furor las-
 sas jam fere & continuis preliis laxatas vires nu-
 merocissimo exercitu adortus, uberiores triumphandi
 dedit materiam. Cum ille in campis Strattoniæ, in
 difficillimas licet angustias redactus, inops militaris
 instrumenti, & consumpto jam pulvere tormentario,
 armatos inermis, vallo munito in sola causa &
 virtute animatus, ita retudit, concidit, castris ex-
 uit, ut totum belli molem cum ipsis authoribus prof-
 ligavit; quicquid fugæ illius residuum erat, inter
 urbis unius Mœnia eaque arcta obsidione astricta con-
 cluso. Qua quidem pugna memorabili, præter quod
 miserum popellum, jugo intolerabili levaverat, sedes
 suas expulsis, ecclesias pastoribus, pacem omnibus,
 & firmamentum pacis obsequium pristinum restituerit.
 Et jam sequenti armorum nostrorum fœlicitate qua
 partes regni occidentalis maturius ad officium & ve-
 rum Dominum redierunt, & viam apperuisse &
 momentum ingens extitisse libentissime profiteamur; In
 hac opera laudabili cum præfatus Radulphus persti-
 terit adhuc invicto animo & industria indefessa
 nullo arduo quantum vis labore & periculo excusatus,
 cumque mille argumentis testatum fecerit, honorem
 salutemq; nostram sibi omni fortuna & capite potio-
 rem

Char. I. *rem, nos virum fortissimum optimeque affectum animum benigno studio prosequi & amplius demereri volentes, hunc & præconio merito ornandum, & proprii ad nos gradu extollendum censuimus. Sciatis igitur nos de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia mero motu præfatum Radulphum Hopton ad statum, gradum, stylum, dignitatem, titulum et honorem baronis Hopton de Stratton in comitatu nostri Cornubiæ, &c. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes.*

Teste meipso apud Oxon. quarto die Septembris, anno regni nostri decimo nono.

In English.

Charles by the Grace of God, of England, &c. Seeing it so nearly concerns our honour and posterity, and is so eminently productive of illustrious examples, publickly to reward the deserving, and not to suffer the meritorious actions of our faithful subjects to be forgotten, but to impress them on the memory, and record them in the grateful heart; especially in these times, when the violated, or suspected fidelity of many (whom we have formerly treated with too much indulgence) have added a greater value to the approved constancy of others: and since it appears to us that Ralph Hopton, knight of the Bath, of an antient and honorable family, hath not only shewn himself, in all the former part of his life, an extraordinary example of uprightness and good conduct; but in these later days, amidst the dangerous, and rebellious commotions of the kingdom, of uncommon courage and integrity: a strenuous assertor and avenger of the dignity of the

the

the prince, and therein of the publick, against Char. I. the enemies of both: not only as an able statesman, by offering in the senate the best concerted measures for the suppressing of the desperate attempt, whilst in its infancy, and not generally known, but as a more valiant foldier, after the infection had insinuated itself further, and the faction encreased, by retiring to his friends in his native county of Somerset, and the neighbouring counties, and there opposing, to his utmost, the atrocious design; more particularly by his excellent endeavours and services at Sherborn Castle, under the auspices of the Marquis of Hertford. Afterwards when the rebellion had gained strength in Devonshire, the most fortified city having acceded to its influence, and destruction every where threatened our faithful subjects, he raised forces in Cornwall, where he was almost a stranger, and by his uncommon bravery repressed the fury of the enemy, and recruited our dejected and afflicted party. And tho' to a man struggling with so many difficulties, the enemies were the least part of his consideration, so far was he from sinking under any of them, that fighting hand to hand against increasing forces, regularly drawn up, and supplied with every necessary for action, he was constantly victorious: witness Launceston, Saltash, and Bradock, and other obscure names and places now rendered famous by his victories, and the destruction of the enemy. Scarce had these commotions subsided, when the rage of war, attacking with a numerous army, our troops fatigued and harraßed with almost continual engagements, gave them a more glorious opportunity of triumph. When in the
camp

Char. I. camp of Stratton, tho' reduced to the utmost distress, destitute of arms and ammunition, against an armed enemy, animated by his courage, and the goodness of his cause, he so daunted, defeated, and drove them from their camp, that he at once banished all the terrors of war, and the authors of it; those that escaped by flight being confined within the walls of a closely besieged city. By this memorable engagement, he not only relieved the miserable people from an insupportable yoke, but restored to the banished, their possessions—to the pastors, their churches—peace to all—making their former submissive dispositions, the basis of it. And to the subsequent happy success of our arms, whereby the western part of the kingdom returned soon to their allegiance and rightful king, we readily acknowledge him to have opened the way, and to have been of the greatest consequence.

As the said Ralph Hopton has thus persevered with a mind undaunted, with an industry indefatigable has excused himself from no labours however arduous, or dangers however great, and has given us innumerable proofs, that our honour and wellfare are dearer to him than life, we willing to honour and reward so brave a man, and so well affected a subject, have thought proper to adorn him with his merited praise, and exalt him to a degree of honour nearer to ourselves.

Know therefore that we of our special favour, our real knowledge of him, us thereunto moving, do grant unto the above-said Ralph Hopton, the state, degree, style, dignity, title and honour, of baron Hopton of Stratton in our county

county of Cornwall. In witness whereof we have Char. I.
caused these our letters to be made patent.

Witness ourself at Oxford, this fourth day
of September, in the nineteenth year of
our reign.

His two great actions, the one at Lifcard, the other at Stratton, cannot be better described than by an eye-witness, whose words are these as he saith, out of a manuscript corrected with sir Ralph's own hand, communicated to him by his secretary Mr. Tredus.

At Lifcard a little before the fight began, the king's party took it into seasonable consideration, that seeing by the commission of the lord Mohun brought from Oxford, four persons (viz. the said lord Mohun, sir Ralph Hopton, sir John Berkeley, and colonel Ashburnham) were equally empowered in the managing of all military matters: and seeing such equality might prove inconvenient (which hitherto had been prevented with the extraordinary moderation of all parties) in ordering a battel, it was fittest to fix the power in one chief; and general consent settled it in sir Ralph Hopton: he first gave order that publick prayers should be read in the head of each squadron, and it was done accordingly; and the enemy observing it, did stile it saying of mass, as some of their prisoners afterwards did confess. Then he caused the foot to be drawn up in the best order they could, and placed a forlorn of musquetiers in the little inclosures, winging them with the few horse and dragoons he had. This done, two small Mynion Drakes speedily and secretly fetched from the lord Mohun's house, were
planted

Char. I. planted on a little burrough within random-shot of the enemy: yet so, that they were covered out of their sight with small parties of horse about them. These concealed mynions were twice discharged with such success, that the enemy quickly quitted their ground; and all their army being put into a rout, the king's forces had the execution of them; which they performed very sparingly, taking 1250 prisoners, all their cannon and ammunition, and most of their colours, and arms; and after publick thanks, taking their repose at Lifcard.

Stratton fight succeeds on Tuesday the 16th of May, 1643.

The king's army wants ammunition, and hath a steep hill to gain, with all disadvantage and danger; the horse and dragoons being not above five hundred, and the foot two thousand four hundred.

The parl. forces were well furnished and barricadoed upon the top of the hill, their foot 3400, and their horse not many indeed, having dispatched 1200 to surprize the sheriff and commissioners at Bodmin.

On the king's side, order was given to force the passage to the top of the hill by four several avenues: the ascent was steep and difficult; resolutely did his majesties forces get up, and obstinately did the enemy keep them down. The fight continued doubtful, with many countenances of various events (from five in the morning, till three in the afternoon) amongst which most remarkable, the smart charge made by M. G. Chud-

Chudleigh, with a stand of pikes on fir Bevil Char. 1. Greenvil, who fell nobly himself, and had lost his squadron, had not fir John (now lord Berkeley who led up the musquetiers on each side of fir Bevil) seasonably relieved it, so resolutely reinforcing the charge, that major-general Chudleigh was taken prisoner. Betwixt three and four of the clock the commanders of the king's forces who embraced those four several ways of ascent, met to their mutual joy almost at the top of the hill, which the routed enemy *confusedly* forsook. In this service, though they were assailants, they lost very few men, and no considerable officer, killing of the enemy about three hundred, and taking seventeen hundred prisoners, all their cannon (being thirteen pieces of brass ordnance) and ammunition (seventy barrels of powder) with a magazine of biscuit and other provisions proportionable. For this victory publick prayer and thanksgiving was made on the hill; then the army was disposed of to improve their success to the best advantage,—Nothing had sunk this great spirit but the fate of kingdoms, with whose ruine only he was contented to fall, and disband his brave soldiers upon honourable terms. Five things made my lord Hopton so eminently serviceable. 1. His great insight into the designs, and prudent foresight of the events of present counsels; which when most doubted and wavered, gave him that resolution that undertook great difficulties, and bore up against greater. 2. His experience of war in general, and his acquaintance with that feat of it committed to him in particular. 3. His renown all over the kingdom for piety and moderation, and within his own

Char. 1. own association for hospitality, civility, and charity. 4. His name among the enemies, as considerable for his generousness and justice, as for his valour and conduct. 5. His estate, that set him above mercenariness; and his care for money, that set his souldiers above need, the occasion of mutinying among themselves, or the incivilities towards others.

*Observations on the Life of
the Earl of Carnarvan.*

Lloyd.

ROBERT DORMER Ar. was on the tenth of June 1615, made baronet by king James, and on the 30th day of the same month was by him created baron Dormer of Wing in Buckinghamshire. His grand-child Robert Dormer was by k. Charles in the 4th of his reign created viscount Ascot, and earl of Carnarvan. He lost his life fighting for him who gave him his honour, at the first battel of Newbury. Being fore wounded, he was desired by a lord, to know of him what suit he would have to his majesty in his behalf, the said lord promising to discharge his trust in presenting his request, and assuring him, that his majesty would be willing to gratifie him to the utmost of his power. To whom the earl replied, *I will not dye with a suit in my mouth to any king, save to the king of Heaven.* By Anne daughter to Philip earl of Pembroke and Montgomery,

ry, he had Charles, now earl of Carnarvan. From Char. 1. his noble extract, he received not more honour than he gave it: for the blood that was conveyed to him thro' so many illustrious veins; he derived to his children more matured for renown, and by a constant practice of goodness more habituated to vertue. His youth was prepared for action by study, "without which even the most
" eminent parts of noble-men seem tough and
" unpleasant, in despite of the splendor of
" their fortune: But his riper years endured not
" those retirements," and therefore brake out into manlike exercises at home, and travel abroad. None more noble, yet none more modest; none more valiant, yet none more patient.—A physician at his father-in-law's table gave him the lye; which put the company to admire on the one hand the man's impudence, and on the other my lord's mildness, until he said, *I'll take the lye from him, but I'll never take physick of him—He may speak what doth not become him, I'll not do what is unworthy of me—*A vertue this! not usual in noblemen, to whom the limits of equity seem a restraint, and therefore are more restless in injuries. In the midst of horror and tumults his soul was serene and calm. As humble he was as patient. Honour and nobility, "to which no-
" thing can be added, hath no better way to en-
" crease, than when secur'd of its own greatness, it humbleth itself, and so at once obligeth love, and avoideth envy. His carriage was as condescending as heroick, and his speech as weighty as free. He was too *great* to envy any mans parts and vertues, and too good not to encourage them. Many a time would he stoop with his own spirit,

Char. 1. to raise other mens.—He neglected the minute and little circumstances of compliance with vulgar humors, aiming at what was more solid and more weighty : moderate men are applauded, but the *Heroick are never understood.*

Constant he was in all that was good : this was his heroic expression when solicited by his wives father to desist from his engagement with the king, *Leave me to my honour and allegiance.* No security to him worth a breach of trust ; no interest worth being unworthy. His conduct was as eminent in war, as his carriage in peace ; many did he oblige by the generosity of his mind, more did he awe with the hardness of his body ; which was no more softened to sloath by the dalliances of a court, than the other was debauched to a carelesness by the greatness of his *Fortune.* His prudence was equal to his valour, and he could entertain dangers as well as despise them ; for he not only undeceived his enemies surmises, but exceeded his own friends opinion in the conduct of his souldiers, of whom he had two cares ; the one to discipline, the other to preserve them. Therefore they were as compleatly armed without, as they were well appointed within ; that surviving their first dangers ; they might attain that experience and resolution which is in vain expected from young and raw soldiers. To this conduct of a general, he added the industry of a *soldier*, doing much by his performances, more by his example, that went as an active soul to enliven each part, and the whole of his brave squadron. “ But there is no doubt but personal and “ private sins may oft-times over-balance the justice of publick engagements. Nor doth God “ account

“ account every gallant a fit instrument to assert Char. 1.
 “ in the way of war a righteous cause; the e-
 “ vent can never state the justice of any cause,
 “ nor the peace of mens consciences, nor the
 “ eternal fate of their souls.

They were no doubt martyrs who neglected their lives, and all that was dear to them in this world, having no advantageous design by any innovation, but were religiously sensible of those ties to God, the church, their king, their country; which lay upon their souls, both for obedience and just assistance.

“ God could, and I doubt not but he did thro’
 “ his mercy crown many of them with eternal
 “ life, whose lives were lost in so good a cause:”
 the destruction of their bodies being sanctified as a means to save their souls.

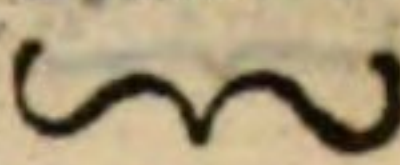
*Observations on the Life of
 the Lord Herbert of Cherbury.*

EDward Herbert, son of Richard Herbert, Lloyd. Esq; and Susan Newport his wife, was born at Montgomery-castle, and brought to court by the earl of Pembroke, where he was knighted by K. James, who sent him over embassador into France. Afterwards K. Charles the first created him baron of Castle-Island in Ireland, and some years after baron of Cherbury in Montgomeryshire. He was a most excellent artist and rare linguist, studied both in books and men, and him-

Char. 1. himself the author of two works most remarkable, viz. A treatise of truth, written in French, so highly prized beyond the seas, and (they say) it is extant at this day with great honour in the pope's vatican; and an history of king Henry the eighth; wherein his collections are full and authentick; his observation judicious; his connexion strong and cohærent, and the whole exact. He married the daughter and sole heir of sir William Herbert, of St. Julian's in Monmouth-shire, with whom he had a large inheritance in England and Ireland; and died in August, Anno Dom. 1648, having designed a fair monument of his own invention to be set up for him in the church of Montgomery, according to the model following;

Upon the ground a hath pace of fourteen foot square, on the midst of which is placed a dorick column, with its right of pedestal basis, and capitols fifteen foot in height; on the capitol of the column is mounted an urn with a heart flamboul, supported by two angels. The foot of this column is attended with four angels, placed on pedestals at each corner of the said hath-pace, two having torches reverst, extinguishing, the motto of mortality; the other two holding up palms, the emblems of victory.

When this noble person was in France, he had private instructions from England to mediate a peace for them of the religion; and in case of refusal, to use certain menaces.—Accordingly being

ing referred to Luynes the constable and favou. Char. 1.
rite of France, he delivereth him the message, 
reserving his threatnings till he saw how the mat-
ter was relished.—Luynes had hid behind the
curtain a gentleman of the religion, who being
an ear-witness of what passed, might relate to
his friends “ what little expectations they ought
“ to entertain from the king of England’s in-
“ tercession.

“ Luynes was very haughty, and would needs
“ know what our KING had to do with their
“ affairs: sir Edward replied; *It’s not you to*
“ *whom the King my Master oweth an account of*
“ *his actions: and for me, it’s enough that I obey*
“ *him. In the mean time I must maintain, That*
“ *my Master hath more reason to do what he doth,*
“ *than you to ask why he doth it? Nevertheless,*
“ *If you desire me in a gentle fashion, I shall ac-*
“ *quaint you further.*

“ Whereupon Luynes bowing a little, said,
“ *Very well.* The ambassador answered; that
“ it was not on this occasion only, that the king
“ of Great Britain had desired the peace and
“ prosperity of France, but upon all other oc-
“ casions, when ever any war was raised in that
“ countrey; and this he said was his first reason.
“ The second was, that when a peace was settled
“ there, his majesty of France might be better
“ disposed to assist the Palatinate in the affairs of
“ Germany. Luynes said, *We will have none*
“ *of your advices.* The ambassador replied,
“ that he took that for an answer, and was sorry
“ only that the affection and the good will of the
“ king his master was not sufficiently understood;
“ and that since it was rejected in that manner,

Char. I. “ he could do no less than say, *That the King his*
 “ *Master knew well enough what he had to do.*
 “ Luynes answered; *We are not afraid of you.*
 “ The embassador smiling a little, replied, *If*
 “ *you had said you had not loved us, I should have*
 “ *believed you, and made another answer:* In the
 “ mean time, all that I will tell you more is,
 “ *That we know very well what we have to do.*
 “ Luynes hereupon rising from his chair, with
 “ a fashion and countenance a little discomposed,
 “ said, *By G—d, If you were not Monsieur the*
 “ *Embassador, I know very well how I would use*
 “ *you.* Sir Edward Herbert rising also from his
 “ chair, said; *That as he was his Majesty of*
 “ *Great-Britain’s Embassador, so he was also a*
 “ *Gentleman, and that his Sword whereon he laid*
 “ *his hand, should do him reason if he had taken*
 “ *any offence.* After which Luynes replying no-
 thing, the embassador went on his way toward
 the door; and Luynes seeming to accompany
 him, he told him there was no occasion to use
 such ceremony after such language; and so de-
 parted, expecting to hear further from him:
 but no message being brought him from Luynes,
 he had in pursuance of his instructions a more
 civil audience of the king at Coignac, where the
 marshal of St. Geran told him he had offended
 the constable, and he was not in a place of
 security here: whereunto he answered; *That he*
beld himself to be in a place of security wheresoever
he had his Sword by him.

Luynes resenting the affront, got Cadenet his
 brother, Du. of Chaun, with a ruffling train of
 officers (whereof there was not one, as he told
 K. James,

K. James, but had killed his *man*) as an embaf-
 fador extraordinary to mis-report their traverses
 fo much to the disparagement of fir Edw. that
 the earl of Carlisle, sent to accommodate Le Mal
 Entendu that might arife between the 2 crowns,
 got him called home; until the gentleman behind
 the curtains, out of his duty to truth and ho-
 nour, related all circumftances fo, as that it ap-
 peared, that though Luynes gave the firft affront,
 yet fir Edward kept himfelf within the bounds
 of his instructions and honour, very difcreetly
 and worthily.—Infomuch that he fell on his knees
 to king James before the duke of Buckingham,
 to have a trumpeter, if not an herald sent to
 monfieur Luynes, to tell him, that he had made
 a false relation of the passages before-mentioned,
 and that fir Edward Herbert would demand
 reason of him with fword in hand on that
 point.—The king answered, he would take it
 into confideration: but Luynes a little after died,
 and fir Edward was sent embaffador to France
 again, and otherwife employed fo, that if it had
 not been for fears and jealousies, the bane of
 publick fervices, he had been as great in his
 actions, as in his writings; and as great a statef-
 man, as he is confefled a fcholar.



Observations on the Life of the Lord Capel.

Lloyd.

HIS privacy *before the War* was passed with as much popularity in the country, as his more publick appearance *in it* was with valour and fidelity in the Field: in our too happy time of peace none more pious, hospitable, charitable and munificent: in those more unhappy of our differences none more reserved, loyal, and active. The people loved him so well, that they chose him one of their representatives; and the king esteemed him so much, that he sent for him as one of his peers in that parliament, wherein the king and people agreed in no one thing, save a just kindness for my lord Capel, who was one of those excellent gentlemen, whose *gravity and discretion* (the king saith) *he hoped would allay and fix the Faction to a due temperament* (guiding some mens well-meaning Zeal by such rules of moderation, as are best both to preserve and restore the health of all States and Kingdoms) keeping to the dictates of his conscience, rather than the importunities of the people; to what was just, than what was safe, save only in the earl of Strafford's case, wherein he yielded to the publick necessity with his royal master, but repented with him too, sealing his contrition for that miscarriage with his blood, when he was more troubled for his forced consent to that brave person's death, than

than for *losing his own life* : which he ventured Char. I.
throughout the first war, and lost by his engage-
ment in the second. For after the surrender of
Oxford, he retired to his own house, but could
not rest there, until the king was brought home
to his ; which all England endeavouring as one
man, my lord adventured himself at Colchester
to extremity, yielding himself upon condition of
quarter, which he urged by the law of arms,
that law that (as he said on the scaffold) govern-
eth the world, and against the *Laws of God and
Man* (they are his own words) *for keeping the
fifth Commandment*, dying on the Scaffold at
Westminster, with a courage that became a clear
conscience, and a resolution befitting a good
Christian ; expressing that judicious piety in the
Chamber of Meditation at his death, that he did
in his *a Book of Meditation* in his life : a piety
that (as it appeared by his dismissal of his chap-
lain, and the formalities of that time's devotion,
before he came to the Scaffold) was rather his
inward frame and habit, than outward ostenta-
tion or pomp ; from the noble sentiments whereof
(as the poet (not unhappily alluding to his arms :
*A Lyon rampant in a Field Gules between three
crosses*) expresseth it)

*Our Lyon-like Capel undaunted stood,
Beset with Crosses in a Field of blood.*

as one that affrighted death, rather than was
affrighted by it—It being observable, that a
learned doctor of physick present at the opening
and embalming of this noble lord, and duke
Hamilton, delivering at a publick lecture, that
the

Char. 1. the lord Capel's was the least heart, and the duke's the greatest that ever he saw; agreeable to the observation in philosophy, that the spirits contracted within the least compass, are the cause of the *greater* courage. Three things are considerable in this incomparable person. 1. His uninterrupted loyalty keeping pace with his life; for his last breath was spent in proclaiming K. Charles the II. in the very face of his enemies, as known to him to be a vertuous, noble, gentle, just, and great prince; a *Perfect Englishman in his inclination*. 2. His great merits and modesty, whereof K. Charles I. writes thus to his excellent queen; *There is one that doth not yet pretend that doth deserve as well as any, I mean Capel; Therefore I desire thy assistance to find out something for him before he ask*. 3. The blessing of God upon his noble, but suffering family, who was a husband to his excellent widow, and a father to his hopeful children, whom not so much their birth, beauty, and portion (though they were eminent for these) as their vertues, married to the best bloods and estates in the land, even when they and the cause they suffered for were at the lowest. It's the happiness of good men, though themselves miserable, that *their seed shall be mighty, and their Generation blessed*.

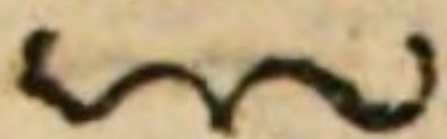
Observations on the Life of
Bishop Andrews.

I Have much a-do to prevail with my own Lloyd.
hand to write this excellent prelate a states-
man of England, though he was privy-coun-
cellor in both kingdoms : for I remember that
he would say when he came to the council-table ;
Is there any thing to be done to day for the Church ?
If they answered *Yea*, then he said, *I will stay—*
If *No*, he said, *I will be gone.*—Though yet this
be an instance of as much prudence as any with-
in the compass of our observation : so safe is
every man within the circle of his own place,
and so great an argument of abilities hath it been
always confessed, to know as well what we *ought*,
as what we *can*, especially in clergy-men, whose
over-doing doth abate their reverence, and in-
crease their *envy*, by laying open those defects
and miscarriages, which are otherwise hallowed,
or at least concealed in the mystick sacredness of
their own function. Not but that men of that
gravity and exactness, of that knowledge and ex-
perience, of that stayedness and moderation, of
that sobriety and temperance, of that observa-
tion and diligence as bishops are presumed to be,
were in all governments judged as fit to manage
publick affairs, as men of any other professions
whatever, without any prejudice to the church ;
which must be *governed* as well as *taught*,—and
managed

Char. 1. managed as well as a society dwelling in the world, as under the notion of a peculiar people taken *out* of it.—His successful skill in dealing with the papists under my lord of Huntington president of the North; and with the puritans under doctor Cofin, an ecclesiastical officer in the South, recommended him to sir Francis Walsingham's notice, as a person too useful to be buried in a country-living; who thereupon intended to set up his learning in a lecture at Cambridge, to confute the doctrine of Rome; until queen Eliz. resolved to set up his prudence in other employments at court, to countermine its *policy*: where I know not whether the acuteness of his sermons took most with the most learned; the devotion of them with the most pious; or the *prudence* of them with the most wise—(it hath been one thing always to preach learnedly, and another thing to preach wisely) for to the immensity of his learning, he added excellent principles of politick prudence, as a governour of the church, and a counsellor of state, wherein he was conspicuous; not for the crafty projects and practices of policy, or for those sinister ways of artifice and subtlety, or the admired depths of hypocrisie called reason of state; for the measures and rules of his politics and prudentials were taken from the great experience he had gotten, and many excellent “ observations he had made out of all histories, “ as well *Humane* as *Divine*: though he always “ laid the greatest weight upon the grounds and “ instances of holy scripture, which gives the truest judgement of wisdom or folly; considering the mixture of state-affairs, with those of the

the church in *Christian* common-wealths, and Char. I. the fitness of sober and discreet clergy-men for *those* of the state in *all*. It's a wonder how clergy-men come to be excluded publick councils at any time: but observing bishop Andrews his insight into the fundamental constitution of our state, as appears from his speech in the countess of Shrewsbury's case: his distinct foresight of the consequences of affairs, evident in his speech against Thraske: his circumspect care of the publick, visible in his petition to king James then sick at New-Market; that the prince then under Scotch *Tutors* be educated by well-principled men, the occasion that king James took to bring him up himself so exactly in the doctrine and discipline of our church, that it's a question whether he was more by his *Pen* or *Sword*, his scepter or his style, *The Defender of the Faith*:—His *wonderful skill* in the government of this church, discerned by the excellent king Charles, in that he sent so many bishops to consult with him, 1625, what was to be done for the church in that parliament: his caution and moderation, in that he never, unless upon great considerations, innovated in his church, but left things in the same decency and order he found them (knowing that all *alterations* have their *dangers*) I am astonished to think, that bishops should be forbidden secular employment in our time.—Who hath more ampleness and compleatness (saith bishop Gauden) for a good man, a good bishop, a good christian, a good scholar, a good preacher, and a good counsellor, than bishop Andrews, a man of an astonishing excellency both at *home* and *abroad*?

Obser-



Observations on the Life of Henry Mountague Earl of Manchester.

Lloyd.

“ **H** Enry earl of Manchester, third son to
 “ fir Edward Mountague, grand-childe
 “ to fir Edward Mountague lord chief-justice of
 “ the king’s bench in king Edward the sixth’s
 “ time, was born at Boughton in Northamp-
 “ ton-shire. One skilful in mysterious arts,
 “ beholding him when a school-boy, foretold
 “ that by the pregnancy of his parts, he would
 “ raise himself above the rest of his family;
 “ which came to pass accordingly: he being
 “ bred first in Christ’s-Colledge in Cambridge,
 “ then in the Middle Temple, where he attained
 “ to great learning in the laws; passed through
 “ many preferments, as they are reckoned
 “ up, viz.

“ 1. Serjeant at law.

“ 2. Knighted by K. James, July 22, 1603.

“ 3. Recorder of London.

“ 4. Lord chief justice of the king’s bench,
 Novemb. 18, 1616.

“ 5. Lord Treasurer of England, Decemb.
 16, 1620.

“ 6. Baron of Kimbolton.

“ 7. Viscount Mandevile.

“ 8. President of the council, September 29,
 1621.

“ 9. Earl of Manchester.

“ 10. Lord

“ 10. Lord privy-seal.

“ He wisely perceiving that courtiers were but
 “ as counters in the hands of princes, raised
 “ and depressed in valuation at pleasure, was
 “ contented rather to be set for a smaller sum,
 “ than to be quite put up into the box. Thus
 “ in point of place and preferment, being pleas-
 “ ed to be what the king would have him (ac-
 “ cording to his motto, * *Movendo non mutando*
 “ *me*) he became almost what he would be him-
 “ self, finally advanced to an office of great ho-
 “ nour. When lord privy-seal, he brought the
 “ court of requests into such repute, that what
 “ formerly was called the alms-basket of the
 “ chancery, had in his time well-nigh as much
 “ meat in, and guests about it (I mean suits and
 “ clients) as the chancery it self. His medita-
 “ tions of life and death, called *Manchester Al-*
 “ *mondo*, written in the time of his health, may
 “ be presumed to have left good impressions on
 “ his own soul, preparatory for his dissolution,
 “ which happened 1642.

The office of lord treasurer was ever beheld as
 a place of great charge and profit. My lord
 being demanded what it might be worth *per ann.*
 made this answer; *That it might be some thous-*
ands of pounds to him (who after death would go
instantly to heaven) twice as much to him who would
go to Purgatory, and a Nemo scit to him who
would adventure to a worse place. But indeed, he
 that will be a bad husband for himself in so ad-
 vantageous a place, will never be a good one
 for his Sovereign.

Observa-

* By removing not by changing me.



Observations on the Life of Sir Henry Wotton, with some Account of his Relations.

Lloyd.

SIR Henry Wotton first *having read of his Ancestor* sir Robert Wotton, the noble lieutenant of Guisnes, and comptroller of Callais, in king Edward the fourth's days. His grandfather sir Edward Wotton, that refused to be chancellor of England in king Henry the eighth's time. 2. Having known his father sir Thomas Wotton, one of the most ingenuous modesty, the most ancient freedom, plainness, single-heartedness, and integrity in queen Elizabeth's reign: his Brothers sir Edward Wotton, the famous comptroller of queen Eliz. and K. James his court, since lord Wotton, and baron Morley in Kent; sir James Wotton (with R. Earl of Essex, count Lodowick of Nassaw, Don Christophoro, son of Antonio king of Portugal, &c.) knighted as an excellent soldier at Cadiz: sir John Wotton the accomplished traveller and scholar, for whom queen Eliz. designed a special favour:—his uncle Nicholas Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York, nine times embassador for the crown of England (he that was one of king Henry's executors, king Edward's secretary of state, queen Mary's right hand, (and that refused the arch-bishoprick of Canterbury in queen Eliz. days.) 3. Being bred 1. In Winchester,

chester, that eminent school for discipline and order. 2. In New-colledge and queen's, those famous colledges for the method of living by rule, could promise no less than he did in his solidly sententious, and discreetly humoured play at Queen's, called *Tancredo*, in his elegant lecture of the nobleness, manner, and use of *Seeing*, at the schools (for which the learned *Albericus Gentilis* called him, *Henrice Mi Ocelle*, and communicated to him his *Mathematicks*, his *Law*, and his *Italian learning*) in his more particular converse with doctor Donne and sir Richard Baker in the University, and his more general conversation with man-kind in travels for one year to France and Geneva, (where he was acquainted with Theodore Beza, and Isaac Casaubon, at whose fathers he lodged) for eight years in Germany, for five in Italy, whence returning balanced with learning and experience, with the arts of Rome, Venice, and Florence, (*Picture, Sculpture, Chimistry, Architecture*) the secrets, languages, dispositions, customs, and laws of most nations, set off with his *choice shape, obliging behaviour, sweet discourse, and sharp wit*, he *could perform no less* than he did.

1. In the unhappy relation he had to the earl of Essex, first of *Friend*, and afterward of *Secretary*. 2. In his more happy interest by his secretary Vietta (upon his flight out of England after the earl's apprehension) with the duke of Tuscany, then the greatest patron of learning and arts in the world; who having discovered a design to poyson king James, as the known successor of queen Elizabeth, sent sir Henry Wotton with notice of the plot, and preservatives

Char. 1. against the poyson, by the way of Norway into Scotland, under the borrowed name of Octavio Baldi; where after some suspicion of the Italian message, discovering himself to the king by David Lindsey's means, he was treated with much honour, complacency, and secrecy for three months. After which time he returned to Florence, staying there till king James enquiring concerning him of my lord Wotton the comptroller; the great duke advised his return to congratulate his majesty, as he did; the king embracing him in his arms, and calling him the *best, because the honestest Dissembler that he met with*: and knight-ing him by his own name, adding withal; "that
 " since he knew he wanted neither learning nor
 " experience; neither abilities nor faithfulness, he would employ him to others as he was employed to him; which accordingly he did to Venice, the place he chose as most suitable to his retired genius, and narrow estate; where, 1. Studying the dispositions of the several dukes and senators, 2. Sorting of fit presents, curious, and not costly entertainments, sweetned with various and pleasant discourse, particularly his elegant application of stories: he had such interest, that he was never *denyed any request*; whereby he did many services to the protestant interest (with his chaplain bishop Bedell, and Padre Pauloe's assistance) during the controversie between the pope and the Venetians, especially in transmitting the history of the council of Trent, sheet by sheet to the king and the arch-bishop of Canterbury as it was written: and in his three embassies thither, gained many priviledges for the Eng-

English along all those coasts. In the second of Char. 1.st which embassies, calling upon the emperour, he had brought affairs to a treaty, had not the emperour's success interposed; whereupon he took his leave, wishing that prince to use *his Victory soberly*; an advice his earriage endeared to his majesty, together with his person, so far, that he gave him a diamond worth above a thousand pounds, which he bestowed on his hostess, saying, *He would not be the better by a man that was an open Enemy to his Mistress*, so the queen of Bohemia was pleased he should call *her*:—Onely while abroad, and writing in the *Album* that friends have this sentence, * *Legatus est vir bonus peregre missus ad mentiendum reipublicæ causa*, whereof *Scioppius* made a malicious use in his books against king James. He lost himself a while for using more freedom abroad than became his employment, until his ingenious, clear, and choicely eloquent apologies recovered him to more respect and cautiousness, until he writ † *Invidiæ Remedium* over his lodgings at Eaton-colledge, the provostship whereof he obtained in exchange for the reversion of the master-ship of the rolls, and other places promised him; where looking upon himself in his surplice, as Charles 5, or Philip 2, in Cloysters, his *Study* was divine meditations, history and characters: his recreation philosophical conclusions, and angling; which he called his idle time not idly spent, saying, he would rather live five *May moneths*, than forty *Decembers*: his table was exquisite,

Aa 2

* An Ambassador is an honest Man sent abroad to lie for the good of his Country.

† Remedy of Envy.

Char. 1. *quisite*, where two youths attended, upon whom he made the observations that were to furnish his designed discourse of education : his histories and observations remarkable, his apophthegms sage and quick.

1. Being in a popish chappel, a merry priest that knew him, sent a paper to him, with this question; *Where was your Religion before Luther?* under which he writ; *Where yours is not, in the written word of God.*

2. Being asked, whether a papist could be saved? he replied; *You may be saved without knowing that : look to your self.*

3. Hearing one rail against *Arminius* and popery, he answered, Sir, *he that understands amiss, concludeth worse:—If you had studied Popery so much as I have, and knew Arminius so well as I did; how learned, how strict, and how rare a man he was, you would not fall so foul on his person, nor think that the further you go from the Church of Rome, the nearer you are to God.*

4. One pitched upon for embassador, came to Eaton, and requested from him some experimental rule for his prudent and safe carriage in his negotiation; to whom he smilingly gave this for an infallible *Aphorism*: *that to be in safety himself, and serviceable to his Country, he should alwayes, and upon all occasions speak the truth; For (said he) you shall never be believed; and by this means your truth will secure your self, if you shall ever be called to any account: and it will also put your Adversaries (who will still hunt counter) to a loss in all their disquisitions and undertakings.*

5. And

5. And when he made his will two years before he died, out of policy to let the king understand his debts and arrears (to which end he bestowed in that will on his majesty, fir Nicholas Throgmorton's papers of negotiation in queen Elizabeth's dayes : on the queen, Dioscorides in Tuscany, with the herbs naturally coloured : on the prince, the queen of Bohemia's picture : on my lord of Canterbury, the picture of *Divine love* : to my lord of London, high treasurer, *Heraclitus* and *Democritus* ; and to secretary Windebank old *Bastano's* four seasons) he directed that this onely should be written on his plain marble :

*Hic jacet bujus sententiæ primus auctor ;
Disputandi Pruritus fit Ecclesiarum Scabies :
Nomen aliàs quære :*

In English.

Here lies the author of this sentiment ;
The itch of disputation becomes the scab of
the church :

Seek his name elsewhere.

7. Going yearly to Boston for the connaturalness of that air, and to Winchester or Oxford for recreation, he would say to his friends : how useful was “ that advice of a holy monk, who
“ perswaded his friend to perform his customary
“ devotion in a constant place, where his former
“ thoughts might meet him ; for (said he) at
“ my being at that school, seeing the place
“ where I fate when I was a boy, occasioned me

Char. 1. " to remember my youthful thoughts; sweet
 " thoughts indeed, that promised my growing
 " years numerous pleasures, without mixture of
 " cares, and those to be enjoyed when time
 " (which I thought slow-paced) changed my
 " youth to man-hood; and now there are a suc-
 " cession of boys using the same recreation, and
 " unquestionless possessed with the same thoughts.
 " Thus one generation succeeds another both in
 " their lives, recreations, hopes, fears, and
 " deaths.

8. There are four things that recommended sir Henry Wotton to posterity: 1. That king Charles took great pleasure in corresponding with him in letters. 2. That my lord Bacon took great pains in collecting his apophthegmes. 3. That sir Richard Baker, who submitted most of his writings to his censure, said of him; that the kingdom yielded not a fitter man to match the *Capriciousness of the Italian wits*. And 4. That his work of architecture is translated into *Latine*, printed with *Vitruvius*, and this eulogy prefixed:

Henricus Wottonus Anglo Cantianus Tho. optimi viri Filius Natus minimus a serenissimo Jacobo I. Magnæ Britanniæ, &c. Rege in Equestrem titulum ascitus, ejusdemque ter ad Remp. Venetam Legatus Ordinarius, semel ad Confederatarum Provinciarum Ordines in Julensi Negotio; bis ad Carolum Emanuele Subaudiæ ducem: Semel ad unitos superioris Germaniæ Principes in Conventu Heilbronensi. Postremo ad Archducem Leopoldum, Ducem Wirtenbergensem, Civitates Imperiales Argentinam Ulmamque, & ipsum Romanorum Imperatorem Ferdin-

*Ferdinandum II. Legatus Extraordinarius Tandem Char. i.
hoc Didicit.*

Animas sapientiores fieri quiescendo.

In English.

Henry Wotton, a native of Kent, the youngest son of that most excellent man Thomas Wotton, raised to the honour of knighthood by his most serene majesty James the first, of Great Britain, &c. He was twice his ambassador to the Republick of Venice; once to the States-General of the United Provinces in the Julian Negotiation; twice to Charles Emanuel duke of Savoy; once to the United Princes of Upper Germany at the congress [of Hailbrun. Lastly being ambassador extraordinary to the Arch-duke Leopold, the duke of Wirtembergh, the Imperial Cities Argentan, and Ulm; and to Frederick the second, emperor of the Romans. He learned

That souls improve in knowledge by Retirement.

Observations on the Lives of the Lord Wilmot, and Sir Tho. Roe.

THESE honourable persons are united not Lloyd. so much in their own relation or character, as in my unhappiness, who was promised observations on the life of the first, but never had them;

Char. 1. and *had* some on the life of the second, but *lost* them.

1. My lord Wilmot, I finde *acting* like a *states-man*, when *commissary* in the expedition *against* the Scots; and *speaking* like a *soldier*, when a member of the parliament that was *for* them: in the first capacity speaking with my lord Conway, he saw the king would be overcome by the English *at home*, if he overcame not the Scots *abroad*. In the second, whispering with some army-officers, he said; *If the Scots army were paid in the North, the king's army would be paid in the South*.—A wise and brave speech, that had almost rallied all the army against the parliament, as soon as that parliament had rallied their multitude against the king; but that *treachery* got easily into the *bosom* of that brave prince, that had nothing but *honesty* in his *heart*.

Yet since he could not awe the counsels of the faction in the city, he went to suppress their rebellion in the field; being voted a traitor by the rebels, because he endeavoured they should not be so. What he performed in the wars, all the kingdom knows; what he did at Oxford, the king's letters intimate; what he negotiated in Germany, acted in Scotland, endeavoured at Worcester, and other places for the king's majesties escape and restauration, posterity shall celebrate while he lives, as renownedly in history, as he doth nobly in his son the most hopeful earl of Rochester.

2. Sir Thomas Roe—understood the dispositions of men so exactly, could suit their humours so fitly, observe opportunities and seasons of actions so punctually, keep correspondence so warily,

rily, wade through difficulties so handsomely, Char. 1.
wave the pinch of a business so dexterously, con-
trive interests so suitably, that he was advised
with concerning the most important affairs of the
kingdoms he resided in abroad, and admitted of
the privy-council while he lived at home—where
his speech against the debasing of the coyn at
the council-table will last as long as there is *rea-*
son of state in the world; his settlement of trade
as long as this is an island; and his Eastern
MSS. as long as there are books to furnish libra-
ries, or libraries to preserve books. Three of
noblest English actions beyond sea are these. 1.
That sir Thomas Roe pardoned the Dutch mer-
chants thrice in Persia and Turkey at his mercy.
2. That my lord Wilmot, when ambassador in
Germany, refused the assistance of the Pope's
Nuncio, or Turkish Aga; judging his great mas-
ter, when at lowest, above those suspected aux-
iliaries. 3. That my lord Culpeper having of-
fered him in Muscovy all the English goods there,
refused them, declaring his royal master a father
of his country, though kept out of it by tray-
tors, and a merciful prince to his people, when
cast off by the rebels.

*Observations on the Life of
Arch-Bishop Juxon.*

Lloyd.

WILLIAM JUXON, born at Chichester in Suffex, was bred fellow in St. John's colledge in Oxford, where he proceeded batchellor of law; very young, but very able for that degree: afterwards becoming doctor in the same faculty, and president of the college, was one in whom nature had not omitted, but grace had ordered the tetrarch of humours, being admirably master of his pen and passion. For his abilities, he was successively preferred by king Charles the first, bishop of Hereford and London, and for some years lord treasurer of England: wherein he had religion to be honest, and no self-interest to be corrupt. A troublesome place in those times, being expected he should make much brick (though not altogether without, yet) with very little straw allowed unto him: large then the expences, low the revenues of the exchequer. Yet those coffers he found empty, he left filling, and had left full, had peace been preserved in the land, and he continued in his place. Such the mildness of his temper, that petitioners for money (when it was not to be had) departed well pleased with his denials, they were so civilly languaged. It may justly seem a wonder, that whereas few spake well of bishops at that time, and lord treasurers at all times are liable

liable to the complaints of discontented people; Char. 1.
 tho' both offices met in this man, yet with Deme-
 trius he was well reported of all men, and of the
 truth itself. He lived to see much shame and con-
 tempt undeservedly poured on his function, and
 all the while possessed his own soul in patience.

Nor was it the least part of this prelate's honour,
 that amongst the many worthy bishops of our land,
 king Charles the first selected him for his confessor
 at his martyrdom, when he honoured him with
 this testimony; *That good man.* He formerly
 had had experience [in the case of the earl
 of Strafford] that this bishop's conscience was
 bottomed on piety, not policy, the reason that
 from him he received the sacrament, good com-
 fort and counsel just before he was murdered.
 I say, just before the royal martyr was murdered:
 a fact so foul, that it alone may confute the er-
 ror of the Pelagians, maintaining that all sin
 cometh by imitation; the universe not formerly
 affording such a precedent, as if those regicides
 had purposely designed to disprove the observa-
 tion of Solomon, *that there is no new thing under
 the sun.*

King Charles the second preferred him arch-
 bishop of Canterbury 1660. He died in the year
 of our lord, 1663, and with great solemnity was
 buried in St. John's colledge in Oxford,—to
 which he was a great benefactor, though a greater
 to Paul's and Lambeth; and greatest of all
 to the church which his eminence adorned, and
 his *temper secured* in those times wherein rough-
 ness enraged that humour, which delay and mo-
 deration broke. A discreet yielding to the mul-
 titude is the securest way of *conquest*: They that
 hold

Char. 1. hold together by opposition, languish and moulder away by indulgence: in his duty, this good man went along with conscience, in government, with time and law. He had the happiness, that king James admired in a statesman of his time, to do all things * *suavibus modis*: he referred his master in the earl of Strafford's case, as he did himself in all cases, to his own conscience for matter of fact, and to the judges for matter of law; who according to their oath ought to carry themselves indifferently between the king and his subjects.—The king was not more happy in this faithful servant, than he was in his followers, among whom there was no uncivil austerity to disoblige the subjects, nor base corruption to incense them. They need not keep state, they had so much real power; nor extort, they had so much allowed advantage. His care was his servants, and their care his business: his preferments were his burthen rather than his honour; advanced by him rather than advancing him—and therefore he was more ready to lay them down, than others to take them up: witness his treasurers place; which when he parted with (like those that scatter their jewels in the way, that they may debar the violence of greedy pursuers) no less than four durst undertake; when his single self sufficed for the two greatest troubles of this nation, the treasureship of England, and the bishoprick of London.

Religion was the inclination and composure as well as care of his soul; which he used not as the artifice of pretence or power, but as the ornament and comfort of a private breast, never affecting a pompous piety, nor a magnificent ver-

* By gentle methods.

vertue, but approving himself in secret to that God Char. 1.
who would reward him openly. His devotion 
was as much above other mens, as his calling;
his meditations equal to his cares; and his
thoughts even and free between his affairs and
his contemplations, which were his pleasures, as
well as his duty, the uniform temper and pulse
of his christian soul. Neither was his religion
that of a man only, but that of a bishop too,
that made his piety as universal as his province,
by such assistances of power, as brought carnal
men, if not to an *obedience*, yet to such a degree
of *reverence*, that if they did not honour, they
might not despise it. His justice was as his reli-
gion, clear and uniform; first, the ornament of
his heart, then the honour of his action. Nei-
ther was justice leavened with rigour or severity,
but sweetened with clemency and goodness; that
was never angry but for the publick, and not
then so much at the person, as the offence: so
ambitious of that great glory of moderation,
that he kept it up in spight of the times malig-
nity, wherein he saw all change without himself,
while he remained the self-same still within the
idea of *sobriety* and *temperance*, vertues that he
put off only with his life: neither was this a de-
fect of spirit, but the temper of it; that though
it never provoked troubles, yet it never feared
them: His minde was always *great*, though his
fortune not so: great to suffer, though not always
able to act: so good his temper, and so admira-
ble his humility, that none ever went discon-
tented from him:—Never courting, but always
winning people, having a passage to their hearts
through their brain; and making them first ad-
mire

Char. 1. mire and then love him. He was slow, not of *speech*, as a *defect*; but to speak, out of discretion; because when speaking, he plentifully paid the *principal* and *interest* of his auditors expectation.

In a word, his government as a bishop was gentle, benigne, and paternal: his management of the treasury was such, that he served his prince faithfully, satisfied all his friends, and silenced all his enemies; of which he had enough as a bishop, greatness is so invidious and suspected; though none as a man, goodness is so meek and inoffensive. The *most* thought the worse of Dr. Juxon for the bishops sake, the *best* thought the better of the bishop for Dr. Juxon's sake.

Observations on the Life of John Lord Culpeper.

Lloyd.

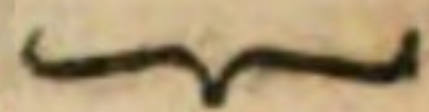
I Find nothing promoting him to his first preferment of chancellor of the exchequer, but his pure merit; nor any thing advancing him to his after-honours; but his steady *loyalty*;—which when others stuck to London (in compliance with that maxim; *In all divisions keep yourself to the metropolis, the chief city being for the most part preserved, whoever prevaieth, in a civil commotion, abounding in money and friends, the readiest commodities to purchase quiet*) carryed him after a persecuted sovereign for twenty years together, by the strong obligation of a well-principled

principled conscience, and the well-weighed observation of the natural affection of all “Englishmen to
 “their lawful sovereign; from whom, though
 “the arts and impulses of seditious demagogues
 “may a while estrange and divorce their minds,
 “yet their genius will irresistably at last force
 “them to their first love.”

It was the resolution of a great states-man; *That if the crown of England were placed but on an hedge-stake, he would be on that side the crown was.* His first service was to discover his sovereign to his deluded people, worthy not only of their obedience, but their lives and fortunes. His next was, to lay open his enemies in all their *intrigues* and *reserves*, being most happy in all the treaties he was engaged in, in discerning the bottom of his own parties interest, and their adversaries pretensions; discoveries! that prevailed on all that was either noble or but ingenuous in the nation, especially whither my lord came with his indefatigable industry, his obliging converse, and potent eloquence, excepting London itself, whither he was sent from Nottingham, with the earls of Southampton and Dorset, and sir William Wedale, knight, the very day the king set up his standard there. The principle he went upon was, *That the faction at Westminster was no parliament*: a principle most safe on all hands: for which and the rest of his judicious sentiments, he hath the honour to be enrolled among those that traitors durst not pardon; which he could not choose but smile at, knowing (as he used to say) “*That treason is alwayes within five years*
 “*weary of itself, the people being more impatient*
 “*of their own libertinism, than of the strictest and*
 “*most*

Char. I. *“most heavy government.”* His way of intelligence from London by mistress E. P. friend to J. M. puts me in minde of a passage in queen Elizabeth’s reign ; who being presented with an overture out of Spain, so secretly managed by the council there, as the first news of its approach came with itself : the messengers (out of fear of a surprizal) dispensing with the ceremonies commonly used in the behalf of ambassadors (something strange, considering the haughtiness of that nation) did much inflame the lord treasurer’s desire to know the farthest extent “ of the
 “ negotiation, as conducing to a present advantage, that such an answer might be made as
 “ should in some proportion quadrate with the
 “ demand of the Catholique king, at that time
 “ standing upon terms little different from those
 “ of an enemy. And being informed from the
 “ ordinary espials he kept about his person, that
 “ the attempt was something difficult, if not
 “ impossible ; the Don out of distrust still carrying his instructions in his bosom : Burleigh
 “ caused such a Jesuite to be apprehended, as by
 “ reason of former miscarriages could not expect
 “ mercy ; and imparts his desires to him under
 “ as large promises if he brought them about, as
 “ threats to be revenged on him and his associates,
 “ if he found himself abused. All which, tho’
 “ with some reluctance he undertook, and performed through the meditation of a *fair lady*
 “ that first took away his commission, and then
 “ again laid it under his pillow whilst he slept.

His early endeavours for peace by addreses to London, Scotland, Cornwall, speak his integrity, and his prudence. Every inconsiderable person
 may

may be powerful at disturbances: but to form Char. 1.
peace, requires much wisdom and great virtues; 
and his observations upon the division of the
great faction to two parties, Independent and
Presbyterian. His care and watchfulness, none
of their clashes escaping his reach, which was
ready to accommodate as occasion served their
respective interests, in their new-models and alte-
rations; making as good use of fears and jealou-
sies between them, as they had done between the
king and his people; being one of those brave
spirits that made much of good soldiers and sub-
jects, notwithstanding their ill success, if they
continued their good affections as the Ro-
mans gave thanks to Terentius Varro after he
had lost the great battle of Cannæ by his own de-
fault, because he did not despair of the common-
wealth, always valuing his estate in England,
during the usurpation, as much as he did during
the king's just possession: as the Romans would
not sell the ground that Hannibal encamped up-
on, cheaper than if it had been in time of peace,
which was one thing that discouraged that great
captain from continuing the siege of Rome.
These and other his services recommended him
to the attendance of his most excellent majesty
when prince, in the perfecting of the Western
association, when it was thought fit to put the
happiness and hope of the kingdom in two bot-
toms, with whom he continued with a constant
fidelity in all difficulties, performing several em-
bassies during their banishment with honour (par-
ticularly one to the emperor, who had great

Char. I. respects for his master, and an awful regard of his cause) till it pleased God to bring his majesty by his and others counsel to his father's throne; which he just saw, and dyed master of the rolls, June 1660. From one of whose relations I have these notes and postils, containing some of the policy of the late times, from 1642 to 1659.—which I set down nakedly, as I finde them; not supposing they are his, but that they were among his papers.

1. It is against the experience of the wisest princes of France and England, to leave their chief city in times of tumult; yet it was necessary for the king to do so, as well to break the fury of the worst people there by distance and time, as to dis-abuse the best abroad by his presence and time:—and indeed it had been a shame for him to have perished in a tumult.

2. It was urged, that the king should not delay any longer the war—but besides that nothing could perswade his gracious majesty to a war, but pure necessity. It's usually observed, that if Boutefeu's make not the feud irreconcilable by a desperate action, rebels cool, consider, break, suspect, fear, and fall off to nothing.

3. The repulse of Hotham did the king excellent service, by alarming all the loyal in the kingdom with their designed plot.

4. Especially when the country saw the king so unwilling to engage, that he discharged their guards several times.

5. It was thought unfit to send to the faction from Nottingham, until it was rejoined that men
of

of understanding and fidelity are usually employed to those persons against whom a war is to be managed, to discover their design, humour, forces, succours, and whatever might succour or strengthen them; which none but they who were secured with the privilege of agents might do; and none were judged fitter than they that were best acquainted with the knowing ladies, and the talkative lords. Char. 1.

6. It was offered that intelligence should be written to satisfy the people, and make the vulgar pretences ridiculous: but *quære*, whether it is possible for the **Arcana Imperii* to remain always under so exact a discipline as may admit a thorough-inspection of the multitude without danger.

7. When it was urged as the fundamental principle the king should proceed upon, that the faction at Westminster was no parliament, the king being firm to his promise (as there was not a juster man alive) not to dissolve them without their leave—it was judged that self-preservation being the first principle in nature, that concession which wisdom saw then, and experience since, so contrary to that principle, was rather to be repented of than performed.

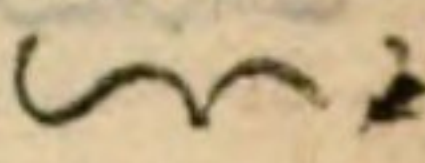
8. It is a very great advantage to the king's cause, that his messages of peace were sent always after his victories; and his enemies after their defeats: and that his declarations were natural, easie, as grounded upon obvious principles of scripture, law, and reason; and their harsh, forced, and wilde, as grounded only upon pretences and fancies.

Char. 1. 9. It's a probable opinion, that it is in vain to treat with the rebels, who can never *trust* the king with their guilty heads.

10. It is in vain to yield them any thing, since all concessions have no other issue than either or both of these two inconveniences. 1. That they make the faction so insolent, that the king should not be able to deny nor grant them any thing. 2. That they justified former proceedings, and laid the blame upon the king for not granting that sooner, which he thinks fit to grant now. Besides, it's more fit propositions come to the king, than from him.

11. It may be wondered that the king doth not cut off the chief of the rebels, as they fall into his hands, according to the usual maxim in that case; but that his inclination to clemency is inexpressible—and that the principle he goeth upon is sure, though deep, viz. That so much are man-kinde in general, and the English in particular obliged by fair usages, that the generality of this nation returned nine times in 1300 years after long intervals of usurpation, out of gratitude as well as duty unto their allegiance to the posterity of *good, pious, merciful, but unhappy* princes.

12. When it was urged against the king's going to London upon the *success* in the West, that the city would not pour out fresh men upon him, as at Brainford; it was replied, that the city and country were not under such strong delusions as then, but were more sensible of the miseries they had been trepanned into. Besides there was a more miraculous power of conversion went along with

with the king's presence where-ever he came, Char. 1.
convincing all he conversed with. 

13. Whether the king being so wise and able, it were not convenient to contrive it so, that the people might see how well he acted by himself,—provided he had sufficient security?

14. Whether it being dangerous that the rebels should seize (as God forbid they should) on the whole court at once, it were not convenient that his majesty and the prince did part, that the kingdom might know its *hope* as well as its *happiness*; and that their interest when separated, might be more spreading than when together?

15. It was judged prudence to let the success wherein their souls were unequal, overthrow the faction by mutual jealousies and animosities, till it dissipated all pretences, and the people saw none oppressed them in their estates, liberties, consciences, more than the pretended patrons of them all. An indemnity without regard to any faction, being most likely to render the misled as jealous for the king, as they had been against him.

16. It were to be wished that the parliament did draw into entire propositions their design, that his majesty and his people might make a clearer judgement of it in order to an accommodation.

17. His majesty must be secured of the *Militia*, and against tumults, and all persons invested in their first right without any controversy—As to other matters, a full debate may settle them, with such explanations and qualifications as may satisfy all parties.

Char. 1. 18. It's thought his majesty may concur with the parliament about the *Presbyterian* government for three years, the time allowed by themselves; and that at the three years end the very kingdom will throw it off as inconsistent with the English temper, and unsuitable with the British monarchy:—and so likewise in other things which look plausible in the general, but are unpracticable in the particular.

19. Though many things are necessary to avoid jealousies, which are inconvenient, yet they may be allowed, upon the respect of the likely hood that all things will in time return to their proper chanel—only a general act of indemnity is the best bond of peace, whereby the numerous discontents of many persons and families otherwise exposed to ruine, might not become fuel to new disorders, or seeds to future troubles, with particular regards to the priviledges of the city, notwithstanding *non-user, mis-user, abuser*, and the interest of the army—an indulgence that would help the world to see clearly the king's intentions in matter of future government.

20. No act to pass till the peace be concluded, lest what his majesty *grants*, may be an argument to urge what he must *deny*; so that he cannot treat in *Honour, Freedom, or Safety*.

21. Time is the best cure of faction.

22. When the treaty is broken off, so that neither side could reassume it without a seeming yielding, it should be renewed upon the queen's motion, provided always that her name was not used or intimated till the rebels willingness to *compliance were preassured*.

But

But stay, I am fallen upon mine own *knowing* Char. I
time, wherein I am fitter to read others observa-
tions, than to write my own: and it becomes me
rather to be instructed, than to instruct. Indu-
stry and curiosity bid me begin this *Collection*
where sir W. F. sir R. N. sir J. H. characters
end: and modesty enjoyns me to *finish* it, where
my contemporaries own knowledge *begins*,—
with whom I shall quietly pass my time, observ-
ing how far the affairs I see or hear of agree with
those I have read of. Having gained thus much
(if no more) by this *Essay*; *That by looking into*
the Intrigues of former times, I have learned a
great deal of reason to bless G O D I was born in
these: being assured, that murmurs, discontents,
complaints, whisperings, speaking evil of digni-
ties; the common, but unreasonable faults of
this *Age*, are kept up only because men are igno-
rant of the ages foregoing: and as my lord Ba-
con saith of the schoolmen in the church, so I
say of troublesom persons in the state; that they
are so, because they know nothing beyond their
own *time*: whereas if the most discontented per-
son did but compare his own dayes with those be-
fore, he must confess, that there wants nothing in
the general frame of our government (particular
persons miscarriages must be always allowed) to
make us most happy, but *thankfulness, content,*
and the continuance of these blessings under our
dread soveraign, for whom it's as much our
interest as our duty to pray according to St.
Chrysostoms liturgy, that God would give him
strength, victory, health, safety, length and tran-
quillity of dayes: or in *Tertullian's* form; *Long*
life, a secure government, safe Court, valiant Ar-
my,

Char. I. my, faithful Senate, good People, quiet world, and
 ~~~~~ what-ever he can desire as a King, or as a man.  
 Or once more, in *Laëtantius* his words, that God  
 will keep him, who is the keeper of all things in  
 his Dominions, to his Felicity, and our Tran-  
 quility.

The End of the Observations upon the Lives of  
 the Statesmen and Favourites of England  
 in the Reign of King Charles I.

APPENDIX.



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# APPENDIX.

*It was thought necessary to insert the following Lives selected from Winstanley's England's Worthies, as they come in principally within the Period of Lloyd's, and are unnoticed by that Biographer; and tho' they may not probably be wrote with that spirit and conciseness of Lloyd, however they may very properly accompany his, and go nearer to compleat the STATE WORTHIES, from the Reformation to the Restoration*

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## *Observations on the Life of Doctor John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester.*

**T**HIS learned prelate, doctor Fisher, was born at the Town of Beverly, in Yorkshire: \* his father was named Robert Fisher, by calling a merchant, and lived in very good reputation. His pregnancy of parts, and forwardness in learning, induced his father to send him to Michael house in Cambridge, whereof he was the first chancellor *pro termino vitæ*: his abilities raised him so by degrees, that at last he came to be bishop of Rochester, and was always a strong asserter and

\* In 1459.



and stout champion of the papal doctrine; yet generally very well beloved for his great learning and uprightness of life. For his zeal in the church's cause, take this one instance: at such time as the burgessees in parliament had drawn up three bills; one of the probate of the testaments; another for mortuaries; and the third for non-residence, pluralities, and taking of farms by spiritual men; the bill of mortuaries passed first the house of commons, and was sent up to the lords, when two days after was sent up the bill of probate of testaments; at which the archbishop of Canterbury, and all the bishops much frowned, but especially doctor Fisher, who rose up and said, *My Lords, you see what bills come daily from the commons house, and all is to the destruction of the church: for God's sake, consider what a realm Bohemia was; and when the church went down, then fell the glory of that kingdom: now with our commons is nothing but down with the church; and all this, me seemeth, is for lack of faith onely.* These words being reported to the house of commons, they took the matter very heinously, and thereupon sent their speaker sir Thomas Audley with thirty of the house to the king with a complaint, That they which were elected for the wisest men of all shires, should be charged to lack faith, which was all one as to say, that they were Infidels and no Christians, and so by consequence what acts or laws soever they made, should be taken as laws made by Pagans and Heathens, and not worthy to be kept by Christian men; and therefore humbly besought his majesty to call the said bishop of Rochester before



before him, to give an account of the words he had spoken: whereupon the king sent for the bishop, and acquainted him with the commons complaint; who excused himself by saying he meant the doings of the Bohemians was for lack of faith, and not the doings of the house of commons; and this excuse pleasing the king, abated the anger of the commons unto him.

Soon after he fell into worse troubles, being caught in the net of Elizabeth Barton (commonly called the holy maid of Kent) and made accessory to her dissembling. This Elizabeth first through sickness being oftentimes brought as it were into strange kind of trances, afterwards through the procurement of some cunning priests she continued the same; and to raise the greater reputation of her, she became a nun in the priory of St. Sepulchres in Canterbury. In these her counterfeit trances she would deliver many strange things, and among others, that if king Henry proceeded in his divorce with queen Katherine, and married another, he should not be king of England one month after. Yea, this matter proceeded, that there was a book written by Thomas Lawrence register to the archbishop of Canterbury, of her feigned and counterfeit miracles, revelations, and hypocritical holiness: and so craftily were things handled, that not onely the simple but the wise and learned were deceived by the same, insomuch that William Warham archbishop of Canterbury, and bishop Fisher gave credit thereto: whereby we may see how credulous oftentimes great scholars are in believing impostures; so that we need not wonder at St. Austin, who though he gave credit to many lying



lying miracles, yet they were such as had more probability in them than this, which consisted in nothing but making of faces, as upon examination of the maid and her abettors was confessed; for which crime, she and most of them were condemned, drawn to Tyburn, and there hanged.

Bishop Fisher, though brought into much trouble about this matter, yet at this time escaped with his life; but not long after, the parliament having voted the king supreme head of the church of England, and established the succession of the crown upon the lady Elizabeth; he with sir Thomas Moor, and doctor Wilson, parson of St. Thomas the Apostle, were cited to appear at Lambeth before the arch-bishop of Canterbury to be sworn unto the same; which he with sir Thomas Moor refusing, they were committed to custody tried and condemned, and on the 22d of June, anno 1535, bishop Fisher was beheaded for the same on Tower-hill, and sir Thomas Moor on the 6th of July following.

He was by the pope made cardinal S. Vitalis; which honour was to him *parum Vitalis*, for the cardinal's hat and his head never met together. His body was buried in Barking church-yard, and afterwards removed to St. Peter's chappel within the Tower.



## *Observations on the Life of Sir Francis Drake.*

**T**HIS famous sea-captain, sir Francis Drake, one of the first that put a sea-girdle about the world, was born nigh South-Tavestock in the county of Devonshire, in the year 1545, and received his name Francis from sir Francis Ruffel (afterwards earl of Bedford) being his godfather. He was brought up in Kent; his father was a minister, who for fear of the six articles in the time of king Henry the eighth fled into Kent, where he lived privately till the death of the king. He got a place to read prayers amongst the marriners of the queen's navy, and bound his son Francis apprentice to a shipmaster, who traded with commodities into France and Zealand; with whom he underwent a hard service, by which means he was trained up to pains and skill at sea: his master dying, bequeathed him his bark, with which he a while followed his master's profession. But the narrow seas being too narrow for his spacious spirit, he sold his bark, venturing himself and most of his estate with captain John Hawkins into the West-Indies; but his journey proved unfortunate, for at St. John de Ulva, his goods were taken by the Spaniards, himself, hardly escaping with life. This loss so exasperated the spirit of Drake, that he vowed the Spaniards should repay him with



with advantage; and to make his word good, after two or three several voyages into the West-Indies, to gain intelligence, at last he effectually set forward from Plimouth with two ships, and seventy three men and boys, sailing with all speed and secrecie to Nombre de Dios, the granary of the West-Indies, where the Spanish treasure lay, intending to surprize it, being an unwalled town; but in the assault being dangerously wounded, he was forced to retire again to his ships, when he had well-near conquered the town: thus victory sometimes slips thorow their fingers who have caught it in their hands.

Yet notwithstanding this disaster, enough to have daunted a coward from prosecuting his design any further, he resolveth not to give over the project; but whilest he was determining what to do, a golden opportunity courted him with success; certain negros called Symerons, advertised him of many mules laden with gold and silver which was to be brought from Panama over the mountains. Drake, who had plowed long furrows in the ocean, expecting to have a golden harvest, leaves competent numbers to man his ships, and with the rest of his men goes on land, intercepts the prize, being weakly guarded, and carries away an infinite mass of gold, hiding the silver under ground, as not portable over so high hills. Then burnt he a great place of traffique called the cross, and in it two hundred thousand pounds worth of Spanish merchandize; which done, he returned with great honour and riches into England.

This his so lucky beginning gave him more hopes of prosperous proceeding; wherefore in Anno

1577, he



1577, he again sets forth from Plimouth, with a fleet of five ships, and sixteen hundred and four men in them, and within twenty five days came to Canline a cape in Barbary ; in his passage he took Nuno-da-Silva a Spanish pilot, whose directions he afterwards much used. Hence he took their course to the island of Brava, being much troubled with tempestuous winds, which in one hour vary all the points of the compass ; nor was their rain less strange, poured (not as in other places, as it were out of sieves, but) as out of spouts, so that a butt of water falls down in a place : which notwithstanding was but a friendly injury, helping them to fresh water, which otherwise in that hot climate far from land is not so easily come by. Then cutting the line, he let every one in his ships blood. There saw they that face of heaven which the earth hideth from our sight, but therein only three stars of the first magnitude, the rest few and small, compared to our hemisphere ; as if God (saith Mr. Fuller) had on purpose set up the best and biggest candles in that room wherein his civillest guests are entertained.

The 16th of April he entered the river Plate, in which place John Doughty, the next to Drake in authority, was questioned for raising sedition in the navy ; who being found guilty was beheaded. Some report Leicester had given Drake in charge to make him away, for words he had said against him touching the earl of Essex. The twentieth of August he passed the Magellan straits with three ships, having cast off the other two as impediments ; and then entring the  
paci-



pacifique sea, his ships by tempests were dispersed from each other, the one whereof was never more seen, the other returned home through the straits. Drake himself held on his course to Chily, Coquimbo, Cinnano, Palma, Lima, upon the west of America, passing the line the first of March, till he came to the latitude 47, intending to have come by those north seas; but unseasonable weather made him alter his determination, and bend his course south-west from thence, coming to anchor 38 degrees from the line, where the king of that country presented unto him his net-work-crown of many coloured feathers, and resigned therewith his scepter of government unto his devotion; his people so admiring our men, that they sacrificed unto them as unto their Gods. This place, for the glory of England, he named Nova Albion, and at his departure erected a structure, as a monument, to witness what there had been done. From thence on the 14th of November he fell with Ternate one of the isles of Molucco, the king whereof entertained him curteously, telling them, they and he were all of one religion in this respect, that they believed not in Gods of stocks and stones, as did the Portugals. Here he took in certain tun of cloves, with some necessaries which they wanted.

But in relating the honour, we must not omit the riches he got in this journey, his prizes being many, and of great value, which by sir Richard Baker are thus summarily delivered. Loosing from the isle of Moucha, he lighted upon a fellow fishing in a little boat, who shewed him  
where



where a Spanish ship laden with treasure lay ; Drake making towards it, the Spaniards thought him to be their own countryman, and thereupon invited him to come on ; but he getting aboard, presently shut the Spaniards (being not above eight) under hatches, and took the ship, in which was four hundred pound weight of gold. At Taurapasa, going again on shore, he found a Spaniard sleeping by the sea-side, who had lying by him twenty bars of massy silver, to the value of four thousand ducats ; which he bid his followers take amongst them, the Spaniard still sleeping. After this going into the port of Africa, he found there three vessels without any marriners in them ; wherein, besides other wares, were seven and fifty silver bricks, each of which weighed twenty pound. Tiding it to Lime, he found twelve ships in one road, and in them great store of silks, and a chest full of money coined, but not so much as a ship-boy aboard, (such security there was in that coast.) Then putting to sea with those ships, he followed the rich ship called *Cacofaga* ; and by the way met with a small ship, without ordnance or other arms, out of which he took four-score pound weight of gold, a golden crucifix, and some emeralds of a finger's length. And overtaking the *Cacofaga*, set upon her, and took her ; and in her, besides jewels, fourscore pound weight of gold, thirteen chests of silver, and as much silver as would ballast a ship.

And now having fraughted his ship with so much wealth that a miser would not desire any more, he resolveth to return home ; and having



a large wind, and a smooth sea, ran a ground on a dangerous shole, where his ship stuck twenty hours, having ground too much, and yet too little to land on ; and water too much, and yet too little to sail in. Expecting now no other than death, they betook themselves to prayer, the best lever at such a dead list ; afterwards they received the communion, dining on Christ in the sacrament, expecting no other than to sup with him in heaven. Driven to this strait, they were forced to cast out of their ship six great pieces of ordnance, threw overboard as much wealth as would break the heart of a *Miser* to think on, with much sugar and packs of spices, making a caudle of the sea round about. At last it pleased God that the wind, formerly their mortal enemy, became their friend, which changing from the starboard to the larboard of the ship, and rising by degrees, cleared them off to the sea again ; for which they returned unfeigned thanks to Almighty God.

Having escaped this eminent danger, they bent their course south-west, to the cape of Bone Speranco, and by the west of Africa returned safe into England, and landed at Plymouth, November 3, 1580. The next year he feasted the queen in his ship at Deptford, who knighted him for his service ; his arms were given him, *The World in a Ship*. Which ship by the queen's command was drawn on shore near Deptford, for a monument to all posterity. Concerning this his famous voyage, a poet then living directed to him this epigram.

Drake,



*Drake, pererrati novit quem terminus orbis,  
Quemque semel mundi vidit uterque polus :  
Si taceant homines, facient te sydera notum ;  
Sol nescit comitis non memor esse sui.*

*Drake whom th' encompass'd earth so fully knew,  
And whom at once both poles of Heaven did view :  
Should men forget thee, Sol could not forbear  
To Chronicle his fellow-traveller.*

Anno 1585, he again set sail from Plymouth, with two and twenty ships and pinasses, and two thousand three hundred souldiers and failers ; and passing by the isles of Bayon and the Canaries, arrived at St. Jago, (the chief city of Cuba in America) which they took and burned : after they sailed to St. Domingo in Hispaniola, which they spoiled and ranfackt : from thence to Carthagená, which they also surprized, and took in it (besides inestimable sums of money) 240 pieces of ordnance. And returning homewards, razed and burnt the fort and city of St. Augustine in Terra Florida, arriving safe at Plymouth the 27th of July, 1586.

In Anno 1588, when all England stood in fear of a Spanish invasion (though it proved but a Morris-dance upon our waves) he was made vice-admiral of the English navy ; where what he performed towards the waining of that half-moon, the chronicles report to his eternal honour : his very name being so terrible to the Spaniard, that Don Pedro de Valdes, Vasques de Silva, Alonzo de Sayas, and other noblemen, hearing it was the fiery Drake that had them in chase, yielded themselves, and came aboard his



ship; protesting they were resolved to dye in defence, had they not fallen under his power; whose valour and felicity was so great, that *Mars* and *Neptune* seemed to wait on his attempts. Afterwards in the year 1589, Don Antonio pretending a right to the crown of Portugal, sued to queen Elizabeth for succour against the king of Spain, who detained it from him; she in pursuance of his title sent him aid under the command of those renowned generals, sir Francis Drake, and sir John Norris; who with eleven thousand souldiers, and twenty five hundred mariners set sail from Plymouth, and arrived at the Groyne, a haven in Galicia; took the lower town by assault, and in it great store of ordnance, victualls, cables, ropes, and other furniture for shipping. From thence sailing towards Portugal, in their passage they met with Robert earl of Essex, who without the queen's leave had put forth to sea, accompanied with his brother Walter Devereux, sir Philip Butler, sir Roger Williams, sir Edward Wingfield, and others. After two days they arrived at Penycha a town in Portugal, which they took, leaving the castle to Don Antonio. Here left they their sick and wounded, with seven companies of foot for their guard. The main army under the command of sir John Norris marched to Lisbon, whom Drake promised to follow with the fleet; but by reason of the flats which he must pass, and the castle of St. Julian fortified with fifty pieces of great ordnance, his purpose was disappointed; yet surprised he the town of Cascais, to which place not long after came the whole army, being necessitated for want of victualls, and no aid coming in



as was expected. Whereupon having taken threescore hulks laden with corn, and pillaged many towns and villages, they returned back again into England.

This journey producing not that wished effect which was desired, another more likely was thought upon. Queen Elizabeth well knowing that the Spaniards chiefeft strength consisted in the treasure which he yearly received out of the West-Indies, furnished sir Francis Drake, and sir John Hawkins, with ships and souldiers to bring this golden harvest into the English barn. These on the last of August set sail from Plymouth, and seven and twenty days after, came upon the coast of the great Canary; in assaulting of which they wasted much time, to the great grief of sir John Hawkins, who would have presently sailed to America; and this grief, say some, occasioned his death, though others impute it to the loss of his bark, called the Francis, which five Spanish ships intercepted at the isle of St. Dominick; but when the same heart hath two deadly wounds given it together, it is hard to say which of them killeth.

Drake notwithstanding continued his course to Port-Rico in St. John's island, and casting anchor within the road, a shot from the castle entered the steerage of his ship, took away the stool from under him, wounded sir Nicholas Clifford and Brute Brown to death, as they sat at supper: whereupon the English enraged, fired five Spanish ships of two hundred tuns a piece, in revenge of the castle.

The intention of the English was to have marcht with their land-forces from Port-Rico to



Panama, (being an Isthmus which joyneth together Mexicana and Peruana) where the Spanish treasure lay. Sir Thomas Baskerville with seven hundred and fifty men undertook the charge; but the Spaniard having notice of their intentions, had built their fortresses to impeach their passage: in assaulting of which first, the English had such welcome, that they had no mind to try the second; so that fearing their gold would be dear bought, as well as far fetcht, they returned again unto their ships.

Drake afterwards forced Nombre de Dios, and many other petty towns; but though herein he did the Spaniard much hurt, he did the English little good: and now thinking with himself that according to his preparations, the expectation of his performances would be greater than before; the consideration thereof accompanied, if not occasioned the flux, which wrought his sudden death, Jan. 28, 1595, who as he lived by the sea, died on it, and was buried in it. A man no doubt of admirable parts, and one who had done many worthy services for his country. One bestowed this epitaph upon him:

Where Drake first found, there last he lost his  
name:

And for a tomb, left nothing but his name,  
His body's buried under some great wave,  
The sea that was his glory, is his grave:  
Of him no man true epitaph can make,  
For who can say, here lies sir Francis Drake:



## *Observations on the Life of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex.*

**R**Obert Devereux earl of Essex, was born Anno 1566. He had scarcely attained to ten years of age, when his father Walter Devereux, earl of Essex, and earl marshal of Ireland, deceased at Dublin, premonishing his son to have always before his eyes the six and thirtieth year of his age, as the utmost term of his life, which neither himself, nor his father before him out-liv'd; and the son did not attain to it. At his father's death he was by the lord Burleigh his guardian sent to the University of Cambridge, under the tuition of doctor Whitgift, then master of Trinity-Hall; a man of the primitive temper, when the church by lowliness of spirit did flourish in highest examples of piety and learning. At sixteen years of age he took the formality of master of arts, and kept his public acts: yet notwithstanding his good erudition, it is reported of him, that like certain vegetables he did bud and open slowly, nature sometime delighting to play an after-game as well as fortune, which had both their tides and turns in his course.

His first advancement to court was by means of the earl of Leicester; yet not so much out of love to him, as it was thought, as out of envy



to sir Walter Rawleigh, whose splendour at court he meant to allay with this young earl. His first appearance in the fields of *Mars* was at Tilbury Camp, 1588, where he was by the queen made in the field commander of the cavalry, (as he was before in court) being much graced by her openly in the view of the souldiery and people, even above my lord of Leicester himself. But scarcely was he thus warmed in the queen's favour, when without her consent or knowledge he thrust himself into the Portugal voyage, hazarding thereby his future fortunes, besides the danger of incurring the queen's displeasure, and laying himself open to the practices of the court; notwithstanding a noble report coming home before him, (as indeed his actions deserved no less) at his return all those clouds were dispersed, and this his excursion afterwards counted but a sally of youth. Nay, he grew every day taller in her majesties grace and favour, insomuch that the king of France imploring her assistance against the prince of Parma, who in hostile manner had invaded his dominions, the charge of that enterprise was committed unto him; who full of valour, though young in years, being furnished with four thousand foot and two hundred horse, besides many pyoneers and other volunteers, whose heroick aspects determined the courage of their hearts, landed in Normandy, and laid siege to the strong city of Roan; in assaulting whereof, his brother Walter Devereux (a diamond of the time, both of an hardy and delicate mixture) was slain with a small shot, to the excessive grief of the earl; who after a tedious winter's siege, challenged Monsieur Villerse the governour to a  
single



single combate ; who not desirous to purchase his honour with the effusion of his blood, refused it : with contempt of his refusal, the earl returned into England.

The queen having now experience of his valour, soon found an occasion for him to shew it ; the king of Spain threatening to invade her borders, she thought it the best policy to invade his first : to perfect so great a design, a mighty navy is made ready, consisting of an hundred and fifty ships, wherein were above 14000 souldiers and failers. Our intended brevity will not permit us to recount the several officers in this expedition. The earl of Essex and Charles Howard, lord admiral of England, were commanders in chief. The first of June they set forth from Plymouth, and on the 18 of the same moneth came to Cabo St. Vincent, where they lighted upon an Irish bark, who certified them, that at Cales from whence they came, were store of gallies, ships of war, and merchant ships, laden with munition, coyn, oyl, wine, wax, silk, cloth of gold, and quick silver ; news most acceptable unto the generalls. The twentieth of June they cast anchor on the west side of the island, where a fair dove, a fortunate presager of their success, lighted upon the main yard of the lord admirall's ship, and sat there quietly the space of three hours, every man gazing, but no man suffered to remove her. The next day a council being called, it was determined the fight should be begun with the lesser ships, because the road was too shallow for the greater : the lord Thomas Howard, sir Walter Raleigh, sir Francis Vere, sir George Carew, and sir Robert Southwel,



wel, with some Londoners, and a squadron of Low Countrey ships, undertook the same; which they valiantly attempted, manfully maintained, and bravely continued: nor were the Spaniards backward in performance of their duties, but resolutely fought in defence of their lives; each side striving to acquit themselves bravely, which made the fight continue fierce and doubtful.

The valiant Essex (though by a council of war appointed to keep the main battel) upon the sudden, from Port Saint Maries side, thrust himself foremost in this sea-fight: which the other general perceiving, desirous to participate of the danger, as well as of the honour of victory, forsook his great ship, too unweildy for those narrow waters, took into his pinnace, that he might not be over-acted in point of honour. The scales of war which before were even, now were turned to the English side: the Spanish admiral, a ship of fifteen hundred tun, was by their own souldiers set on fire, whose ruine was accompanied with two other ships that lay next her; the rest of their fleet ran themselves on ground in the bay of Port Real.

The earl of Essex in pursuit of his design landed his men at Puntal, a league from Cales: to oppose his forces, half a mile from the town appeared many horse and foot; but they finding the English numbers exceed their expectation, they presently gave back: the English perceiving their stratagem to out-wit them, counterfeit-  
ing a fear, made a retreat; by which means having enticed forth their enemies, they returned with such violence, that they forced them back  
into



into the town: but there they having an advantage from the higher ascent, played so fore upon the English, that their foremost ranks began to give back; which valiant Essex perceiving, to engage his souldiers resolutions, caught his own colours, and cast them over the wall into the town: the undaunted English ashamed to lose their ensign, forgot all danger, ascending the wall with shot and sword, make way through the thickest press of the enemy; in the interim sir Francis Vere broke the Gate and rushed in, and the rest with him: divers were wounded with stones from the tops of houses, and sir John Wingfield slain in the market-place with a shot from the castle.

The town thus surprized, the castle was summoned, which the next day yielded; the citizens compounding with the lords generals to pay an hundred and twenty thousand ducats for their ransom, were suffered to depart; for the assurance of which payment, forty of the chiefeft citizens were brought pledges into England.

Far worse sped the ships that had run themselves on ground, who being assaulted by sir Walter Rawleigh, proffered two millions and a half of ducats for their redemption; but he telling them he was sent to destroy ships, not to dismiss them upon composition, they were by the command of the duke of Medina Sidonia, admiral of Spain, set altogether on fire: it was judged by the wiser sort of people, that the Spaniard was damnified by this expedition no less than twenty millions of ducats. The fortunacy of this enterprize gave occasion to one of  
the



the wits then living to frame this excellent anagram on the earl of Essex name.

*Deureux*

*Vere Dux.*

Which he afterwards englisht in this distich :

*Vere Dux Deureux, & verior Hercule ; Gades,  
Nam semel hic vidit, vicit at ille simul.*

*Alcides yields to Deureux ; he did see  
Thy beauties, Cales, but Deureux conquer'd thee.*

The whole navy returning home safe, crowned with victory and laden with spoils, yet seemed the revenge far less than the injury offered by the Spaniard : wherefore the next year a third voyage was undertaken, whereof the earl of Essex was made commander in chief. Their design was to intercept the Indian fleet in their return into Spain ; many of the nobility and principal gentlemen accompanied the earl in this expedition. The ninth of July, 1597, they set sail from Plymouth, directing their course to Ferrol and the Groyne : but God, as a worthy author interprets, was so displeased at these nation's enmities, that they had not sailed forty leagues, but they were incountred with such a terrible tempest, that the marriners themselves were at their wits end, and the fleet had much adoe to recover Plymouth. And attempting to set out the second time, the wind fell so cross, that for a whole months time they could not get out of the haven. The 17 of August they again hoise



hoise sail, but before they came in view of Spain, they were disperfed by another horrible tempeft, in which they loft two of their fhips. The 15 of September they fell into the ifles of Flores, Evernes, Fyal, and Pike, all which fubmitted themfelves to the earl's devotion ; afterwards they failed to Gratiofa, whose inhabitants fubmit and find mercy : here would the earl have tarried in expectation of the Indian fleet, had he not been moft unluckily diffuaded by Graves his pilot ; for no fooner was he gone, but the American fleet came by, (wherein were forty fhips, and feven of them laden with treasure :) thefe fearful fheep, hearing the Englifh wolves were abroad, loath to lofe their golden fleece, failed with all fpeed they could to Tercera, where they gained the haven, all but three fhips which the Englifh took ; the reft fecuring themfelves in the port, it being impregnable. The Englifh fail from thence to St. Michael's, where they took Villa Franca, a fair town well ftored with merchandize, wine, wood, and corn ; here they tarried fix days ; during which fpace, a caraque coming out of the Eaft-Indies, and perceiving the Englifh were there, ran herfelf afhore, unloaded her merchandize, and then fired herfelf. October the ninth they hoift fail for England ; but in their paffage were affailed by fuch a tempeft that quite loft them the fight of the Spanifh fleet, who likewise fuffered much by the fame tempeft ; for one of their fhips was caft upon Dartmouth, the fouldiers and mariners half ftarved in her ; who upon examination confefled, that the Spanifh fleet's intention was to feize upon fome haven in Cornwall : which  
being



being nigh the mouth of the chanel, might be convenient to receive forces from Spain. But man proposeth, and God disposeth : for the divine providence frustrated the designs both of the Spaniard and the English. The earl of Essex upon his return was created earl marshal of England.

Hitherto have we beheld our earl ascending the zenith of honour : but favourites of great princes are seldom without parasites ; who, wanting true worth in themselves, make a ladder of mischief to climb up to promotion : these buz into the earl's head strange fancies and chymæras, that his deserts were far greater than his rewards, that during his absence sir Robert Cecil was made chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaster, and Charles lord Howard created earl of Nottingham, with relation in his patent to the victory in eighty-eight, and his good service at Cales ; that he was descended of the blood royal of Scotland and England, and had better right to the crown than any other of the competitors. This puts the earl upon indirect courses ; and though he cannot attain to be king of England, he seeks to be made a petty king of Ireland : the state of which country (ordained to be the sepulchre of his father, and the gulf of his own fortunes) was at that present in a dangerous condition, by reason Tir Oen, a notorious rebel, had lately atchieved such a victory with so great loss to the English, as they had never felt the like since they first set footing in Ireland. Whereupon, a serious consultation was held on whom to send to quell the rebels. Essex, though he seemed not to desire the employment, yet still  
was



was ready with his exceptions if any other were nominated: at length it was concluded that he should be the man, and an army of twenty thousand foot, and thirteen hundred horse, allotted unto him: with these, and a great retinue besides of the nobility, he passeth into Ireland.

His first action after his arrival was against the petty rebels in the province of Munster, contrary to his commission, which was to go immediately against Tir Oen himself; but men who prefer their private fancies before publick instructions, seldom attain to their wished desires: for notwithstanding he took the castle of Cahir, and drove the rebels into the woods and groves adjoining, his forces by this means were so impaired, that the gain did not countervail the loss; wherefore sending for fresh supplies out of England, in the mean time he sendeth directions to sir Coniers Clifford, president of Connaught, to set upon the rebels in one place, (thereby to sever their forces) while he assaulted them in another. This counsel though good, yet found ill success; Clifford with fifteen hundred soldiers marching towards Belike, set upon the rebels; but the fight continuing long, and the English wanting powder, were put to flight; Clifford himself, and many of the old soldiers being slain.

In the mean time, Essex receiveth fresh forces out of England, and withal a check for neglecting the Queen's command; wherefore at length he setteth forth towards the borders of Ulster, with thirteen hundred foot and five hundred horse. Tir Oen not able to match him in power,



power, yet seeketh to over-match him in policy; and by his messenger desireth a parley; Essex mistrusting not the poyson in the bait, condescended, appointing the shallow of Balla Clinch for their meeting place: thither came Essex alone, with whom Tir Oen had private conference a full hour, and not long after by their delegates concluded a truce from six weeks to six weeks till May-day.

This transaction more incensed the queen, who dispatcheth very sharp letters unto him, blaming his delay, and letting slip every fair opportunity; with which letters he likewise receiveth advertisement, that sir Robert Cecil was made master of the Wards, a place which he expected himself. This sir Robert Cecil was a man of lame feet, but of a sound head; one who bare great sway in the court, and a special stickler against the earl; which exasperated him the more, not that he lost the place himself, but that his adversary had attained unto it. This state-proceeding entered so deep into his thoughts, that he studies revenge, and held private consultations of returning into England with part of his forces, to surprize his adversaries. But from this dangerous course the earl of Southampton and sir Christopher Blunt dissuaded him; yet within a moneth over he went, and came with speed to the court at Nonesuch; where falling upon his knees before the queen, after a little talk she bid him retire to his chamber, and soon after committed him to custody in the lord Privy Seal's house; where having remained the space of six moneths, he began to repent him of his former courses, and shewed so great patience,  
and



and so much submission, that the queen gave him leave to return to his own house again. Nevertheless the popular voice, the croud of common people so extolled his innocency, that she could not, for the removal of suspicion of injustice, free herself and her counsellours, but was forced to bring him to a trial; which accordingly she did in the house of the lord Privy Seal. The chief articles objected against him were; That contrary to his commission he had made the earl of Southampton general of the horse; had drawn his forces into Munster, neglecting the arch rebel Tir Oen; entertained a parly with him against the dignity of the queen's majesty, and the person of a vice-roy, which he represented; and that the parley was suspicious, in regard it was private. The earl (remembering the words of *Solomon, Proverbs 16. 14. The wrath of a Prince is as messengers of death, but a wise man will pacifie it,*) fell down upon his knees at the end of the board, professing he would not contest with the queen, nor excuse the faults of his young years, either in whole, or in part; protesting that he always meant well, howsoever it fell out otherwise; and that now he would bid his rash enterprises adieu: with many other words to the like purpose, which made the assembly there present to weep. For indeed he was a man dearly beloved both of the queen, peers, and people! nor do we read of any English subject, whose fall was more lamented than his.

At length this sentence was pronounced against him; That he should be deposed from the office



of a privy counsellour, suspended from the functions of Earl Marshal, and master of the ordnance, and be imprisoned during the queen's pleasure. And indeed her pleasure was, he should not endure imprisonment long; for, upon his shew of humiliation and mortification, she removed Berkley his keeper, and gave him leave to go at large; only admonishing him to make his own discretion his keeper, and not come at the court, or in her presence.

Now the earl thinking all danger was past, and that a serene sky would succeed this storm, in a presumptuous confidence of the queen's wonted favour, he became an earnest suitor to her for the farm of sweet wines: she, to try the truth of his temper made him this answer, That she must first know what it was worth, and not give away things hand over head. His high spirit not brooking a denial, falls into discontented expressions, which came to the queen's ear: *That it was now plain, the queen intended to make him as poor as Job; that he should live of the basket, and gather crumbs under the table; that the queen was now old and decrepid, and withered as well in minde as in body.* And now again he runneth upon desperate counsels, for the removal of his adversaries from the court. The earl of Southampton is sent for out of the Low-Countreys, his doors set open for all comers; decayed souldiers, and discontented persons admitted by Merrick his Steward to his own table; citizens flock thither each day in great numbers, and all signs of popularity appeared. The chief of his council were the earl of



of Southampton, sir Charles Danvers, sir Ferdinando Gorges, captain of the garrison of Plymouth, sir Christopher Blunt, his two servants Merrick and Cusse, with some others: these meeting in consultation at Drury-House, resolve the queen's palace shall be seized upon, and his adversaries secured, who were nominated to be Raleigh, Cobham, Carew, Cecil, and the admiral. But before they could effect their designs, the queen by several circumstances having suspicion of their actions, sent secretary Herbert to call him before the council. The earl doubting the matter, excuseth himself that he was not very well. But this slight excuse encreasing the suspicion, four of the lords were by the queen sent unto him; namely, the Lord Keeper, the earl of Worcester, sir William Knolles, and the Lord Chief Justice of England: these coming to Essex-House, found there a confused number of people, and the earls of Essex, Rutland, and Southampton in the midst of them. After some little talk, the four lords were secured; Essex with a troop of two hundred men at his heels making haste into the city, being falsely informed that the citizens would take his part. The earl of Bedford, the lord Cromwel, and other lords meeting him by the way, joyn themselves; Essex crying out as he went, *For the queen, for the queen; they lay wait for my life.* Whilest thus he seeketh in vain for help of the citizens, certain of the nobility enter the city with a herald, declaring him and all his adherents traytours. This so abated the edge of their courages, that some of his followers began to shift for themselves; amongst which was sir Ferdinando



duando Gorge, who the better to obtain the queen's mercy, freeth the four lords that were kept prisoners in Essex-house, going along with them to the court by water.

The earl himself thinking to return, was opposed by men in arms at the west-end of Paul's, where after a short bickering he retired to Queen-hive, and went to Essex-House by water. By and by the admiral besiegeth the house, commanding them to yield ! which at first they refuse ; but afterwards finding their case to be desperate, they fall upon their knees, and deliver up their weapons to the admiral. The chief of them, as Essex, Southampton, Rutland, Sands, Cromwel, Mounteagle, Danvers, and Bromley, were committed to the Tower, the rest were put in common prisons.

The earl being thus immured, sent this letter to sir Thomas Egerton, lord chancellor. The copy whereof the better to express the temper of his spirit, I have word for word inserted.

**The Earl of Essex Letter to Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Chancellor.**

My very good Lord,

**T**Hough there is not a man this day living that I should sooner make judge of any question that might concern me than your self, yet you must give me leave to tell you, that in some cases I must appeal from all earthly judges ; and if in any, then surely in this, when the highest judge



judge on earth hath interposed upon me the heaviest punishment without tryal or hearing: since then I must either answer your lordship's arguments, or else forsake mine own just defence, I will force mine aking head to do me service for an hour. I must first deny my discontentment, which was forced to be an humorous discontent; and so that it was unseasonable, or is so long continuing, your lordship should rather condole with me than expostulate: natural seasons are expected here below, but violent and unseasonable storms come from above. There is no tempest to the passionate indignation of a prince, nor yet at any time so unseasonable, as when it lighteth on those that might expect an harvest of their painful and careful labours. He that is once wounded must needs feel smart till his hurt be cured, or the part hurt become senseless: but cure I expect none, her majesties heart being obdurate: and be without sense I cannot, being of flesh and blood. But you may say I may aim at the end; I do more than aim; for I see an end of all my fortunes: I have set an end to all my desires. In this course do I any thing for my enemies? when I was present, I found them absolute; and therefore I had rather they should triumph alone, than have me attendant upon their chariots. Or do I leave my friends? when I was a courtier I could tell them no fruit of my love, and now that I am a hermit, they shall bear no envy for their love to me: or do I forsake myself because I do not enjoy my self? or do I overthrow my fortune, because I build not a fortune of paper-walls? or do I ruinate my honour, because I leave following the pursuit, or wearing



the false ones or shadow of honour? do I give courage or comfort to the enemies, because I neglect my self to encounter them; or because I keep my heart from business, though I cannot keep my fortune from declining? no, no, I give every one of those considerations his due right; and the more I weigh them, the more I find myself justified from offending in any one of them. As for the two last objections, that I forsook my country when it hath most need of me, and fail in that indissoluble duty which I owe my sovereign; I answer, that if at this time my country had any need of my publick service, her majesty that governeth it would not have driven me to a private life. I am tied to my country by two bonds; one publick, to discharge carefully and industriously that trust which is committed to me; the other private, to sacrifice for it my life and carcase, which hath been nourished in it. Of the first I am free, being dismissed by her majesty; of the other, nothing can free me but death; and therefore no occasion of performance shall sooner offer it self, but I will meet it half way. The indissoluble duty I owe to her majesty, the service of an earl, and of a marshal of England; and I have been content to do her the service of a clerk, but I can never serve her as a villain or a slave. But you say I must give way to time; so I do, for now I have seen the storm come, I have put my self into harbour. Seneca saith, we must give way to fortune. I know that fortune is both blind and strong, and therefore I go as far as I can out of the way. You say, the remedy is, not to strive; I neither



I neither strive nor seek for remedy. But you say, I must yield and submit. I can neither yield my self to be guilty, nor this my imprisonment to be just. I owe so much to the author of truth, as I can never yield truth to be falsehood, nor falsehood to be truth. Have I given you cause you ask, and yet take a scandal? no, I gave no cause so much as to take up Fimbria his complaint; I did \* *totum telum corpore accipere*, I patiently bear, and sensibly feel all that I then received when this scandal was given me, nay, when the vilest of all indignities are done unto me. Doth God require it? is it impiety not to do it? why, cannot princes erre? cannot subjects receive wrong? is an earthly power infinite? pardon me, pardon me, my lord, I can never subscribe to these principles: let Solomon's fool laugh when he is stricken; let those that mean to make their profit of princes, shew to have no sense of princes injuries. Let them acknowledge an infinite absoluteness on earth, that do not believe an absolute infiniteness in heaven. As for me, I have received wrong, I feel it; my cause is good, I know it: and whatsoever comes, all the powers on earth can never shew more strength or constancy in oppressing, than I can shew in suffering whatsoever can or shall be imposed on me. I must crave your lordship's patience to give him that hath a crabbed fortune leave to use a crooked stile. But whatsoever it is, there is no heart more sensible or more affected towards your lordship, than that of

Your lordship's poor friend,

Essex.

Dd 4

The

\* Receive the whole weapon into my breast.



The nineteenth of February following Essex and Southampton were arraigned in Westminster-hall; their indictment was, for plotting to deprive the queen of her life and kingdom, to surprize her in her very palace; and that they brake forth into open rebellion, by imprisoning the counsellors of the kingdom, by exciting the Londoners to rebellion with vain fictions, by assaulting the queen's loyal subjects in the city, and by defending Essex-house against the queen's forces. Hereunto they pleaded not guilty; but being found guilty by their peers, they had sentence of death pronounced against them by Buckhurst lord treasurer, high steward of England for that time.

Six days after was the fatal day appointed to put a period to Essex his life, the queen notwithstanding her Motto \* *Semper eadem*, yet in the case of life and death was oft-times wavering; willing she was to have remitted what was past, if she might have been ascertained of his loyalty for the time to come: nevertheless she gave command he should not be executed; but being informed he should say, he could not live but she must perish, she countermanded her former word, and gave order he should be executed.

In pursuance of which order he was brought forth to the place of execution, where a scaffold was erected; sundry of the nobility being present, where having craved mercy of God, and pardon of the queen, he had his head severed from his body.

The thirteenth of March following, Merrick and Cusse were drawn to Tyburn, and there hanged;

\* Alway the same.



hanged; and two days after, sir Charles Danvers and sir Christopher Blunt, were beheaded on Tower-hill: for great men seldom fall alone, but as the poet hath it,

*Winds with great fury on tall Cedars blow,  
Whose fall doth ruine them that are below.*

One of our modern writers observes what happened to the countess of Essex; she being fearful in her husband's behalf, gave a letter which she had received from him to the custody of one Ribove, a Dutch woman that waited on her; this Dutch woman's husband, named Daniel, lighted by chance upon the letter, and perceiving some passages in it which might bring the earl of Essex into danger, got a cunning fellow to draw a counterfeit copy of the said letter; with this he cometh to the fearful lady who was newly brought to bed, threatening to give the same to her husband's adversaries, unless she would presently give him three thousand pounds. She to shun the danger, paid him eleven hundred and seventy pounds at the very instant; yet did he deliver her the counterfeit copy only, meaning to make use of the true one, to get a another sum of money of the earl's adversaries. This impostor being found out, he was censured to perpetual imprisonment, condemned in three thousand pounds (two of which were to go to the countess) and his ears nailed to the pillory, with this writing over his head: A NOTORIOUS CHEATER.

I shall conclude all with some few observations on this unfortunate earl: as to his first rise, my lord



lord of Leiceſter introduced him, who had married his mother, a tie of affinity. Sure it is that he no ſooner appeared in the court, but he took with the queen and courtiers; and I believe they all could not chuſe through the ſacrifice of the father, but look on the living ſon, whoſe image by the remembrance of former paſſages was aſreſh, like the bleeding of men murdered, repreſented to the court. The *Cicero* of our modern times parallels him and Buckingham; where the difference was, is too transparent: certain it is, to uſe ſir Robert Naunton's own words, that there was in this young lord, together with a moſt goodly perſon, a kind of urbanity or innate courteſie, which both won the queen, and took too much on the people; which, amongſt other diſparities, Buckingham never did attain to the latter. What hath been imputed to his fall, is, that he drew too faſt from the queen's indulgence, like a childe ſucking of an over-uberous nurſe; which cauſed him to expreſs himſelf in ſuch peremptory language, when he heard that my lord Mountjoy received a favour from the queen for his running ſo well a tilt; when, as though he would have limited her reſpects, he ſaid, now I believe every fool muſt have a favour: which made the queen ſwear by God's death, it was fit that one or other ſhould take him down, and teach him better manners. All authors agree that he was a man of a raſh ſpirit, thirſty after the uncertain fame of popularity, which helpt him on to his catastrophe.



*Observations on the Life of Robert  
Devereux Earl of Essex, Gene-  
ral of the Parliament Forces.*

THIS earl was born at Essex-house in the Strand, in London, Anno Dom. 1592, beginning his morning in the evening of the reign of queen Elizabeth. His father was that Robert Devereux earl of Essex, whose unfortunate life we have already discoursed of. His mother was the widow of sir Philip Sidney, one whose pen and sword have rendred him famous to all posterity. His education in his youth was at the University of Cambridge; afterwards committed to the tuition of bishop Whitgift, a reverend divine. King James restoring him to his father's titles and estate, forfeited by his father's treasons to queen Elizabeth, that a perfect reconcilment might be made in all things, a marriage was contracted betwixt him and the lady Frances Howard, daughter to the earl of Suffolk, a lady of a transcendent beauty; but she full of fire, and the earl of ice, upon complaint made, they were separated, (by a most just sentence of nullity, executed by commission under the great seal of England) after they had enjoyed the society of one bed for three years together.

The earl perceiving how little he was beholding to *Venus*, is now resolved to address himself to



to the court of *Mars*; and to this purpose he bestows himself in the Netherlands, which at that time was the school of honour for the nobility of England in their exercise of arms; where having continued for certain years, and gained renown by his experience and perfection in the feats of arms, he advanced from thence into the Palatinate; to which place went also the earl of Southampton, the lord Willoughby, the earl of Oxford, and sir John Borlans, with their regiments; but these, not seconded as they expected, and being invaded by so potent an enemy as was then the emperour, and seconded by so puissant a potentate as the king of Spain, having in vain endeavoured with such weak forces to resist so great power, they returned into England.

King James dying, in the beginning of his son's reign, a design went on for a sudden expedition into Cadiz in Spain, which was committed to the management of viscount Wimbleton and the earl of Essex; who putting forth to sea, were much damaged with a furious storm: but meeting together in the height of the southern cape, they sailed to Cadiz; where having taken Puntal-castle, and in likelihood to fire the ships in the harbour, the field-men in the interim being directed to land, for their recreation, and to take in fresh-water, having discovered the cellars plentifully stocked with wine, they caroused thereof so liberally, in despite of more sober commands to the contrary, as put them to the hazard of a dismal reckoning. Whereupon the admiral finding the souldiers thus insufferably disordered, fearing the Spaniard upon this advantage might



might make a lamentable butchery amongst them, was forced to put to sea again; and having stay'd some time in expectation of setting upon the Plate-fleet, in their returning home the pestilence so reigned in their navy, that they had scarce men enough to handle their sail, which enforced them to ply home with all the speed they could.

The earl of Essex soon after his return made a voyage into Holland, not loving to lie idle when any action of honour was on foot; where he behaved himself with such gallant resolution, as got him high repute in the mouths of all men.

Having been a while in England, he solicites the affection of Mrs. Elizabeth Paulet, (daughter of sir William Paulet of Wiltshire, extracted from the noble line of the marquiss of Winchester) with whom he consummated his nuptials at Netley, the earl of Hartford's house. By her he had a son, who was christened Robert, after his father's name. He died in the year 1636, and lies buried at Drayton in the county of Warwick.

With this lady he did agree and cohabit; but it was but a short time, becoming soon unhappy in his second, as he was in his first choice: for he could as little digest her over-much familiarity with Mr. Udal, as his former ladies with the earl of Somerset: upon which distaste this earl did ever after abandon all uxorious thoughts, and for a while lived a retired life.

Soon after began the long parliament, in which such differences arose betwixt them and the king, that for the deciding thereof, each part had their recourse to arms. The parliament



ment very wisely chose Essex for their general, there being no person in the kingdom so fit to take the people, and credit their designs; who having an army raised, marches with them against the king. The king on the other side proclaims Essex and his adherents traytors; and confident in the justness of his cause, gives him battle on a place called Edge-hill, which was fought with much eagerness, and in a manner with equality: for though the king kept the field, and therein had the honour of the day, yet lost he many brave commanders, who there died in the bed of honour. Amongst others, the lord Aubigney, sir Edward Varney, who carried the king's standard, colonel Monroe, and others.

Soon after was an overture for peace; but whilst it was in agitation, a second battel was fought at Brentford. Essex at that time was sitting in the parliament-house, but alarm'd with the noise of the great guns, he speedeth down; his coming putting a stand to the king's forces, who then were upon point of victory. There were slain on the parliaments-side serjeant-major Quarles, a man of eminent parts, who left behind him one onely daughter named Esther; since married to Mr. William Holgate of Saffron-Walden, a deserving gentleman, whose love to learning and learned men, hath made his name famous to all posterity. Captain Lilburn with some others, were taken prisoners. The winter then drawing on apace, both armies retired to their winter quarters.

The next spring Essex sets forth with his army, lays siege to Reading; to relieve which, the king,



king, prince Rupert, and prince Maurice, advanced with a great army: but being worsted at Causham-bridge, the town was surrendered to the earl of Essex.

Presently after the taking of Reading, the parliament side began to decline on a sudden; a contagious sickness seized on the earl of Essex soldiers: the marquiss of New-castle was grown very powerful in the north, and sir William Waller defeated in the west, Bristol being delivered up to the king; so that had he with his army come up the next way to London, it was thought he would have found but little opposition; Gloucester only held out against him. The king unwilling to leave any town behind him, lays siege thereunto; to the raising whereof, the army being not in a capacity of themselves, the train'd bands of London assented to this expedition, who raised the siege, and not long after gave the king's forces battel at Newberry: this was a long and bloody fight, nor had either of parties much cause to boast. On the king's side were slain the earl of Carnarvan, the earl of Sunderland, the lord Faulkland, colonel Morgan, lieutenant-colonel Fielding, Mr. Strode, and other eminent persons. On the parliament-side was slain colonel Tucker, captain George Massey, captain Hunt, and others. The earl of Essex with the train'd bands returned to London, where he had solemn thanks given him by the parliament.

And now the winter coming on, he had the leisure for a while to refresh himself, and to make new provisions for war against the ensuing spring; which being come, he marches with his army from



from London, sir William Waller at some distance marching with him. After a while he sits down before Oxford, where the king then was; who fearing a siege, about midnight did take horse, attended with certain troops, who carried some foot mounted behind them, and came to Witney, five miles from Burford, whither also Essex followed him. Prince Maurice, who had long laid siege to Lime, upon his approach towards those parts, he raises it. The strong town of Weymouth is surrendred unto him, yea all the countries round about came in unto him, and the garrisons opened their gates at the first sound of his trumpet. At Chard within the compass of twelve miles, came four thousand men unto him, protesting to live and to die in the cause of the parliament, as their friends at Dorchester did before them.

Barnstable revolteth to him, sir Richard Greenville is beaten, and Taunton-castle taken by his forces; soon after he possesse himself of Mount Stanford, Plimton, Salt-Ash, and divers others small garrisons: from thence he advanceth towards Tavestock, where he took sir Richard Greenville's house, and in it two pieces of canon, eight hundred arms, a great quantity of rich furniture, and three thousand pound in money and plate. He marches into Cornwall, forcing his passage over at Newbridge, with the loss of a hundred and fifty of his enemies; about Lestwithiel he encountered sir Richard Greenville, whom he overthrew; immediately upon this, Bodmin, Tadcaster, and Fowey, stoop unto him. But the king, who all this while was not idle, understanding of his advance into Cornwall,



wal, resolved to march after him, for he found that his army did daily increase. The presence of a prince, by a secret attraction, for the most part prevailing upon the affections of the people. Essex hereupon sends to the parliament for recruits, but before he could receive any supply, the king had so cooped up his army, that his horse had no room for forrage: in this strait he calleth a council of war, wherein it was concluded, that three thousand horse under the command of sir William Belfore, should attempt to break through the main body of the king's forces; which accordingly was put in execution, necessity whetting their valours, so that with some loss they got through, and came safely to Plymouth. But the foot having not that swift means of escape, were forced to yield themselves. The earl made his escape by sea, attended with the lord Roberts; and taking shipping at Fowey, landed at Plymouth, sick both in body and mind.

Thus on a sudden was all undone, which he with much pains and hazard had been long a doing; so uncertain is the chance of war, that he who now rideth triumphantly in the chariot of victory, may ere long become the object of his enemies mercy.

Soon after followed the new modeling of the army, wherein all those commanders who were members of either house of parliament, were called home. Essex hereupon surrendered up his commission, sir Thomas Fairfax being made general in his stead; after which time he continually sat in the house of peers until the time of



his death, which was on the 14th of September, 1646, and in the 56 year of his age. His funeral was solemnized with great state; a monument being erected for him in Westminster-abbey, which a mad villain most uncivilly defaced.

Some perhaps will say there needeth an apology for inserting the life of this earl amongst the *Worthies*, he being one who bore arms against the king, and was by him proclaimed rebel. To this I shall only answer, that many passages of his life were so remarkable, that history would receive a maim without the knowledge of it; and that the earl was not of himself of a traitorous disposition, but deluded by those, who under the specious pretences of *Religion* and the *Good old Cause*, sought their own ends.

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### *Observations on the Life of* *Sir Charles Lucas.*

SO much pity is owing from posterity to the unfortunate loyalist sir Charles Lucas, that should I omit to render him his due honours, I might be taxed of partiality, at least to have fallen short of what the title of this volume promises, he being one whose learning and valour hath made him, amongst others, eminent of the English nation.

I shall not need to spend much time in setting forth the stem from whence his illustrious ciens sprung;



sprung ; he who hath not heard of the family of the Lucas's, knows nothing of gentility ; yet had no honour accrew'd to him from his famous progenitors, it were honour enough to him to be brother to that nobly accomplished, and deservedly honoured, the *Plato* of this age, the lord Lucas, a gentleman singularly gifted in all suitable elements of worth ; as also to sir Gervas Lucas, a valiant commander, sometime governor of Belvoir castle. For his education it was generous, having his youth sufficiently seasoned in principles of knowledge both humane and divine, to which joyning his manhood and discipline in the field, he had scarce his equal. He was a person accompanied with a resolute spirit, of an active disposition, and a suitable discretion to manage it ; strict in his commands without a supercilious severity, free in his rewards to persons of desert and quality ; in his society he was affable and pleasant, in his charge serious and vigilant, remiss in nothing that might any way improve or expedite his dispatch in martial affairs.

But to take a brief survey of his military exploits, I shall in the first place (omitting engagements of less consequence, as not so pertinent) mount up the hill near Newbury and Enborn-Chase, the two places where that memorable battle was fought, where sir Charles Lucas, with fundry other worthy commanders, behaved themselves as bravely as any of the most eminent heroes from the beginning of this unhappy war ; in which fight sir Charles was grievously wounded. Here were his characters of honour deeply stamped in a crimson die.



For the more brevity, I shall pass by his valiant courage upon the parliament's forces at the assault of Cawood Castle; where with skill and valour he forc'd his way thorough their quarters to such places as he thought convenient, and that with such confidence and magnanimity, as his very name became a terrour to his enemies.

His gallantry at Marston Moor will be had in remembrance, so long as that fight shall be recorded in our English annals.

His valiant management of affairs at Newark, where he expressed himself an absolute souldier both in his discipline and personal action.

His brave and successful attempt in his march from Berkley-castle with part of his regiment, betwixt Slymbridge and Beverstone-castle, upon colonel Massey's garrisons.

His incomparable gallantry, in the pursuit of his design at Tedbury.

But to descend from these particulars to the main thing we intend, namely his magnanimity in defending Colchester, besieged by a powerful and successful enemy. We will in the first place give you a brief account of the occasion thereof, and then as briefly relate the most memorable concernments during the siege.

When the parliament's army had so subdued the king's forces, that not one garrison stood out for him openly, and the king himself sold unto them by the Scots, it was expected by the people a composure of differences would have ensued, and the king re-established on his throne again, according as they had promised in many declarations. But contrary thereunto, they enacted to  
settle



settle the kingdom without him: this much discontented the generality of the people, and first they shewed their dislike thereof by way of petition; but that not prevailing, they resolve force. Langhorn, Powel, and Poyer, strengthen themselves in Wales; the Scots (notwithstanding they had sold the king not long before) yet now exclaim against the English for breach of covenant, and resolve to have the other march for England. Against the Welchmen was lieutenant general Cromwel sent, and sir Thomas Fairfax designed to go against the Scots; but called back to march against the Kentish-men, who in a body of six thousand had possessed themselves of Maidstone, with a resolution to stand it out against all opposers. But sir Thomas Fairfax falling upon them, after a short but smart fight, the Kentish-men were routed, and their army dispersed; only the earl of Norwich with about three thousand men crossed the Thames, and passed into Essex.

Where he found sir Charles Lucas, with some other persons of eminent honour and quality, as the lords Capel, Loughborough, &c. with a compleat body of resolute men: who after they had secured the committee at Chelmsford, struck into Colchester; a town inconsiderable, as was generally conceived both by the enemy and adjacent parts of the country, either to receive by a provisional way of relief any great force into it, or by reason of the indefensive and untenible condition of the town, to stand out any time upon their settling or planting in it. Yet so constantly, courageous, vigilant, and incredibly industrious were these loyally disposed gentlemen, as



this town, which in opinion by reason of her disprovision could not probably hold out against so powerful and formidable an enemy the space of one week, continued three moneths in a most resolute defiance, and resistance of a victorious army, sated with such fulness of conquests, and supplied with such fresh and constant recruits, to bring their successive atchievements to a more absolute period. At length, after many stout endeavours, sallies and assays gallantly performed, having eaten all the horses, dogs, cats, and whatsoever (though most reluctant to nature) could afford them nourishment, this unfortunate town of Colchester was surrendered, after the continuance of three moneths siege compleatly ended; with these strict conditions, the superior officers to mercy, and the souldiery upon quarter for life.

To those that shall demand what should be the reason for the besieged to hold out so long, by their continued resistance, to bring both themselves and the rest of the inhabitants into such misery and fearful distress; especially seeing there appeared no hope at all of raising that lasting siege, nor of the general's remove till he had finished his design; besides, their pertinancy and aversion from such reasonable conditions as in the beginning were proposed to them, could not but highly incense the general, and bring them (as afterwards it did) to extremer terms, upon intelligence of their necessitous condition, that they might either be enforc'd to perish through famine, or necessarily surrender the town,

To



To this said inquiry, I answer, that (besides others) there were three main reasons which induced them to hold out so long as they did.

The first was, that not only the county wherein they were beleagured, but other counties too, had engaged themselves upon their fidelity, (a strong gage of assurance to valiant men) that they would readily joyn in assistance with them: but this strong engagement procured an easie dispensation, none appearing visibly, save only a small party about Saffron-Walden, who as they were soon up, were as soon down; being routed at Linton, by a party of horse under major Sparrow.

But far greater hopes had they from London; many of the royalists having engaged their persons under the earl of Holland, duke of Buckingham, &c. to succour them. But this expected aid proved fruitless, for having lost that active spark of honour, the lord Francis Villers, the rest of their flying army were surprized at St. Neots, few escaping to carry tidings of their disastrous success.

But the main reason which induced them on to the continuance of this siege, was their daily expectance of relief from the north; for the Scots having now ended their debate with their presbyterian clergy, concerning the conveniency and inconveniency of this war, with 30000 men, under the leading of duke Hamilton, entered England. This numerous army of covenanters appearing so invincible, made the presbyterians in England to rest confident, and to cry out *Hosanna* to the Mother-Kirk of Scotland. But as an army of sheep having a lion to their leader,



is better than an army of lions with a sheepish commander; even so this canopy-general, whose port and magnificence in his march, promised wonders, though it proved but majesty in an imbroidered habit with a feaverish heart. At Preston in Lancashire, he was encountered by Cromwel, with a handful of men in comparison of his vast army; the effect of which fight was, that the Scots went home by weeping crosses, complaining they had lost more by Hamilton, than ever they got by Lesley.

Soon after followed the surrender of Colchester, and within five hours after the surrender, the deaths of sir Charles Lucas and sir George Lisle. What motives induced the general to more severity against them than the rest, I know not; but certain it is, never was the message of death (though the terriblest summons that can come to nature) entertained by any with more magnanimity, and undaunted resolution, than it was by them. Never did Roman with greater courage, nor Christian with firmer confidence court grim death, than did this matchless pair of heroes. Sir Charles Lucas was the first design'd to dye; who having retired himself a while for prayer, with a pious and humble commendation of his soul into the hands of God, he stood up, remembering, no doubt, that saying, *It becometh a General to dye standing*: and tearing open his doublet, he exposed his naked breast, crying out, *Now Rebels do your worst*: he was immediately dispatched on the place.

Sir George Lisle's turn was next; who beholding that sad spectacle, the dead body of his dearest friend, fell upon it and kissed it, as if he meant



meant to breath into it another soul: with a free but true relation of his vertues and endowments, he often would redouble these words: *In how short a moment has a brave Spirit expired! well, this priority was due to thee, but I shall not be long behinde thee; my death which is now at hand, shall restore thee to me.*

After this, standing up, and taking five pieces of gold out of his pocket, he gave one to his executioners, and the other four he sent to four friends in London; then turning to the standers by, he said, *Oh how many do I see here about me, whose lives I have saved in hot blood, and now must mine be taken away most barbarously in cold blood! sure the like was never heard of among the Goths and Vandals, or the veriest Barbarians in the world in any age.*—After which words, and some few invocations upon the name of Jesus, he was also dispatched, as he stood in an heroick posture, courting grim death with a spritely countenance, and a greedy expectation.

I have heard it reported by divers credible persons, that on the ground where sir Charles Lucas fell when he was shot, there hath grown no grasse; where the print of his body was, still remaining bare, notwithstanding round the same, the grasse flourished with verdancy: what this should signifie concerning his guilt or innocency, as the wayes of God are unsearchable, so shall I not determine any thing, but leaving every one to his own opinion, please my self with the only traditional relation of it.

This epitome which I have derived to posterity, is but as a glimpse or sparkling to the radiant beams of this carbuncle of honour.

*Obser.*



*Observations on the Life of James  
Marquess of Montrose, Earl of  
Kincardine, &c.*

**I**T may seem strange in such a scarcity of Scotch worthies, there also being already so many of our own, that I should go about to borrow one from that country, where if *Diogenes* were alive again, the Cynique, as I have heard one merrily express, with his lanthorn, would make no long inquest after such an impossibility, but infallibly conclude, that there is not such another to be found in Scotland.

This renowned marquess was extracted from the ancient and famous family of the *Grahams* in Scotland, whose valiant and loyal actions have eternized their names to all posterity. His grandfather and father were advanced by king James and king Charles, unto places of the greatest honour in that kingdom: which they most happily discharged, with the love and good affection both of king and people. This honourable person (whose life we now relate) persisting in his predecessors steps, may give us cause to think that valour and loyalty were entailed on that family.

Yet at first he sided with the covenanters against the royal party, they pretending to nothing then, *less than the preservation of Religion, the Honour and Dignity of the King, the Laws of*  
the



*the Land, and the Freedom of the Nation.* But having found that those fair tales were only pretensions, and onely coyned of purpose to draw people to their side, he like a wise man finding their hearts alienated from the king, meditated a disengagement; but finding the work difficult, he a while dissembled his intent, seeming as active as he was before, that when time served he might desert them to better purpose, having also many of his friends amongst them, whom he hoped to draw off; by which means he should be able to gather no small power, which would conduce much both to the king's safety and his own.

Whilst he was upon these determinations, the covenanters had raised a strong army, and in a solemn convention at Duns they determine to invade England. Montros seeing he could not hinder those actions, would not seem to disapprove of them; and having the command of two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, to seem the more active, was the first man that set foot on English-ground: and had his friends fulfilled their promises, he had not only broken to pieces the covenanters designs, but in all probability had brought the whole army along with him to the king. But the Scots marching over the Tine, otherwise than he expected, he was much disappointed of that opportunity he so longingly attended; yet he kept the same loyal inclinations towards the king, which (taking advantage of the treaty that ensued betwixt them) that he found means to acquaint his majesty by letters, wherein he protested his faith and ready obedience to him: but these letters being stolen  
out



out of the king's pockets by his bedchambermen, (the supposed instruments of Hamilton) and by them copied out, were sent to the covenanters at New-Castle; which place by the treachery of some English commanders was yielded unto them, who concealing their information, did not withal conceal their malignity against the earl, but laboured all they could to render him odious to the people, and thereby unserviceable to his Majesty. Nor wanted they fit instruments for this purpose; for having obliged to themselves most of the preachers throughout the kingdom, they made use of their mercenary tongues, to rail against the king and his faithful subjects, as the enemies of Christ; being themselves the while the very shame and scandal of christianity.

Yet still Montros goes on in his loyal intentions, and joyns to his side many of the prime men for nobility and power, though some of them afterwards for fear betrayed their designs unto the covenanters; so that on a sudden when he suspected nothing, he with Napier lord of Marchiston, and sir Sterling Keer, were committed prisoners to the castle of Edenburgh; but a pacification being made betwixt both kingdoms, he with his friends were set again at liberty.

Not long after in England happened those fatal discords betwixt the king and parliament; which growing so high, that they came to be determined by the sword: the covenanters not to be wanting in the aid of their confederates, resolved to raise a puissant army; and to oblige Montros to their side, proffered him freely the office of  
 lieute-



lieutenant-general of the army, and whatever else he could desire and they bestow. But he was not more careless of their proffers, than careful to inform the king of the danger that hereby hung over his head; to which purpose he posts into England, taking only the lord Ogleby into his counsel and company.

At York he informs the queen of the covenanters intentions, and of the danger that would ensue thereof; which doubtless had taken good effect at that time, had not the coming of duke Hamilton out of Scotland (upon pretence of kissing the queen's hand, but with intent to overthrow Montros his counsels) hindered the same, who perswaded the queen there was no fear of any army, nor that the king should need despair of amity and reconciliation with them; protesting he himself would be active for the king with his person and estate.

But the covenanters proceeding on in their designs, and Montros having better knowledge of their intentions than before, he goes to Gloucester, and declares the same to the king himself; but the king was so soothed up with letters of the contrary from Hamilton, and some such other courtiers also buzzing in his ears Montrosses youth, his rashness, his ambition, the envy and hatred he bare unto the Hamiltons; and on the other side the Hamiltons fidelity, their honesty, their discretion, their power; so that Montros nothing prevailed. In the mean time the covenanters were not idle; but having raised an army of eighteen thousand foot, and two thousand horse, march for England; and now the king (when it was too late) seeing himself thus grossly abused,



abused, sends for Montros, and asks his advice what was best to be done.

Montros, having declared the desperate estate Scotland was in at that present, and how abominably his majesty had been betrayed by them with whom he had entrusted his secrets, resolved nevertheless, if the king would lay his commands upon him, nothing distrusting God's assistance in a righteous cause, he would undertake his cause, and use his best endeavours. The king applauding his magnanimous resolution, giving him thanks, encouraged him to fit himself chearfully for so great a work; and the better to carry on so great a work; and the better to carry on the design, the king sent the earl of Antrim into Ireland, who engaged himself to be with Montros in Argile (a part of Scotland bordering upon Ireland) with ten thousand men by the first of April, 1644, this promise being passed to him in December, 1643. For a stock of men to set up withal, the king wrote to the marquess of Newcastle to furnish him with aid, and sent sir John Cockeram his embassador, with a commission and instruction for forreign aids and arms. This being done, he sets forward in his journey from Oxford towards Scotland, having in his company about two hundred horse, most of them noblemen and gentlemen, who had formerly been commanders in forrein countries. Being come to Durham, he sends the king's instructions to the marquess of Newcastle, and the next day they met and conferred; but Newcastle's wants were so great, that he could spare him at present onely an hundred horse, and two  
brass



brass field-pieces ; but sent his orders to his officers and commanders in Cumberland and Westmerland, to afford him all the assistance they could ; who accordingly met him near to Carlisle, with eight hundred foot, and three troops of horse. With these small forces he enters Scotland ; but having come to the river Anan, upon occasion of a mutiny among the English, most of them fly their colours, and run back to England. Notwithstanding he with his own men came to Dumfrize, and took the town into protection upon surrender ; where he stay'd a while, that he might be ready to entertain Antrim and his Irish ; but the time appointed being past, and no news stirring of them, the covenanters gathering themselves together on every side ; to secure himself from being surprized, he returns to Carlisle. And not loving to be idle, joyns with the king's forces in Northumberland, takes the town and castle of Morpeth, as also an hundred foot at the mouth of the river of Tine, and afterwards victuals Newcastle : then intending to joyn his forces with prince Rupert, who was coming to raise the siege at York, he made all the haste he could, but met him not till he was upon his retreat, the day after that unfortunate battel. All things thus failing him, he returns to Carlisle, and sends the lord Ogleby and sir William Rolluck, disguised into Scotland, to discover the state of the country ; who returning back, brought him word that all things were in a desperate condition, and therefore counselled him to bend his course some other way.

But Montros thinking it unworthiness in him to despair of so good a cause, resolves  
upon



upon a strange adventure: for, delivering those few gentlemen that had been constant unto him to the lord Ogleby, to be conducted to the king, he with sir William Rolluck and one Sibbald, being disguised, entred Scotland, Montros passing as Sibbald's man. Thus making all the haste they could, they came at last to the house of his cousin Patrick Graham of Innisbrake, not far from the river of Tay, in the Sherifsdome of Perth: not long had he been there, but he receives news of eleven hundred Irish sent over by Antrim, who were then upon the mountains; who being made to understand of his being there, they came marching unto him, and submitted to his command.

The next day the men of Athol, to the number of eight hundred, put themselves in arms, and joyned with Montros; so that now having gotten this handful of men, he desires to be in action; impatient therefore of further delay, he marches from thence with a resolution to set upon his enemies: and having marched as far as Bucknith, five hundred more under the command of the lord Kilpont son to the earl of Taith, joyned with him, by whom he understood that the covenanters were thick in arms at a rendezvouz at Perth; whereupon with all the haste he could he speedeth thither: these were commanded by the lord Elcho, who upon Montros's approach provided to fight. They were in number six thousand foot, and seven hundred horse; so that contemning the paucity of their enemies, they grew to a foolish confidence of victory: but Montros so well ordered his army, that their confidence failed them; for joyn-  
ing



ing battel they were overthrown, two thousand being slain, and more taken prisoners.

The city of Perth, upon this overthrow, submitted her self to the conquerer, to whom he did not the least harm; where having staid three days, many of his Athol-men returning home, he marches with the rest of his forces to Aberdeen; but the town having a strong garrison therein, refused to submit; and he thinking it no wisdom to hazard the honour he had gotten by his late victory upon the doubtful success of a siege, turns away towards Esk, whither came to him the lord Ogleby with his two sons, sir Thomas and sir David, who with admirable constancy continued with him to the very end of the war.

And now receiving intelligence that an army of the covenanters, under the command of the lord Burleigh, lay at Aberdeen, with long marches he hies thither, sets upon them, and after a long fight puts them to the rout, with the loss of almost all their foot; who flying for refuge unto the city, Montros's men came in thronging amongst them through the gates and posterns, and laid them on heaps all over the streets. This battel was fought September the 12, 1644. After this defeat, Montros calling his souldiers back to their colours, entred the city, and allowed them two days rest.

In the mean time news was brought that Argile was hard by with far greater forces than those they had dealt with last; whereupon he removes to Kintor, a village ten miles off from Aberdeen, expecting some of the Gordons would



have joyned with him; but none appearing, he resolved to withdraw his forces into the mountains and fastnesses; for though he had fought twice indeed very prosperously, it could not be expected, that seeing he was so beset on all sides with great and numerous armies, he should be able to hold out always without relief: whereupon, hiding his ordnance in a bog, he marches to an old castle called Rothmurk, intending to pass over the river of Spey; but on the other side were the number of five thousand up in arms to hinder his passage: wherefore to save his army from being oppressed with the enemies horse, he returned into Badenoth, a rocky and mountainous country: here he fell very dangerously sick; but recovering again, he sends Mac Donel who commanded the Irish, with a party into the Highlands, to invite them to take up arms with him; and if they would not be invited, to force them: he himself passes into the north of Scotland; and having staid a while for recruit at Strathbogy, he removed to Faivy Castle, and possessed it. Secure now as he thought from Argile, his confidence had well-near destroyed him, he and Lothian with 2500 foot, and 1200 horse, having undiscovered come within two miles of him. Montrose to repair his scouts negligence, having but 1500 foot, and 50 horse, draws them up to a high craggy hill, which overlooked the castle; but before he had appointed every one his ground to draw up in, many of his souldiers fairly run away; yet notwithstanding their cowardise, he so behaved himself with the remainder, that though Argile several days attempted



tempted to assault him, he carried away nothing with him but loss and disgrace.

Montros being now desirous to joyn with Mac Donel and those Highlanders he had raised, takes the advantage of the night and returns to Strathbogy, whither also Argile follows him, and endeavours by great promises to draw away his souldiers from him. Montros to prevent his designs, marches from thence to Balveny, and so to Bedenoth; yet had Argile's promises wrought such effects in many of the gentry and prime souldiers, that they shamefully deserted him. Montros looking upon their revolt with indignation and scorn, haltes into Athol, and joynes with Mac Donel. Argile at that time lay at Dunkeldon; but being frightened with the report of Montros's coming, when he was yet sixteen miles off, he bid his men shift for themselves, and he himself fled as fast as he could to Perth. Montros hereupon passes into the country of Argile, and harrasses the same with fire and sword; and hearing that the earl of Seaforth, with five thousand horse and foot were near at hand, he resolveth to fight them; but whilst he was preparing against him, he had information that the earl of Argile, having gathered forces out of the lower parts of the kingdom, and joyned unto them such Highlanders as yet adhered unto him, containing in all about three thousand foot, were at an old castle called Innerlogh upon the bank of Logh-Aber, some thirty miles off him, which caused him to march in all haste through untrodden-paths, and was on their backs ere they were aware; and giving them battle, overthrew them, having the killing



ling of them with a most horrible slaughter for nine miles together; no less than 1500 men being killed, among whom were very many gentlemen of the Campbells, whose deaths were answerable to their names, dying in *Campo belli*, in the field of war. Argile himself escaped by boat; many of the conquered fled into the castle, which was soon after surrendered to Montros.

Long staid he not there, but returns again by the coasts of Harrick, Arne, and Narne: a great party of his enemies being assembled at Elgin, upon the news of his approach dispersed themselves, leaving the castle of Elgin unto him: here the lord Gordon, eldest son to the marquess of Huntley, with a select number of his friends and clients joyned themselves to him; having now two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, he marches to Brechin, where he understood sir John Hurrey, general of the horse for the covenanters, was with a great party of horse, whom he encounters and puts to flight; and understanding that Baily a commander of great account, had been fetcht out of England to withstand him, he resolves to give him battel, and thereupon goes against him; but having in vain often provoked him thereunto, many of his souldiers also deserted him, he was forced with much difficulty and hazard to retreat to the mountains.

And now being out of his enemies reach, he sends the lord Gordon to levy new forces, whilest he with a small party marches through Angus into Perthshire, that he might distract the enemy till such time he made up his army: Baily understanding



standing where he was, intends to surprize him, but he found Montrois provided for him, who so valiantly repulsed his assault, that by killing some and routing others, he forced them to retreat.

Hurrey, having thus before mist his market on Montrois, intended to make it up on the lord Gordon. Montrois fearing he should be overmastered, thought it necessary to oppose Hurrey as soon as was possible, as well to secure so dear a friend from so eminent danger, as to be nibbling at the enemies forces, as he found them asunder, and to cut off that power by peace-meal, which he well knew, if it were all in a body, would be above his strength; therefore by long and continued journeys, he marches into Marre, and joyns with the lord Gordon, who had raised a thousand foot, and two hundred horse; and indeed it was but time, Hurrey having gotten within six miles of him, who understanding of Montrois's coming, retires with all speed he could to Inverness: Montrois as hastily followeth after him; here the earls of Seaforth and *Sutherland* Sunderland, the whole sept of the Frasers, and most of Murray and Cathness, and the neighbouring parts, joyned with Hurrey, so that Montrois fearing to be over-powred, had a great minde to retire; but not onely Hurrey pressed so vehemently upon him, that it was scarce possible for him to retreat, but Baily also with a southern army, much stronger than Hurrey's, was gotten betwixt the mountains and him, so that fearing to be hem'd in between two armies, he resolves to try the fortune of war without delay, and commit the success to God. To gain as much



advantage as he could, he marshalls his army, and gives them battel, which was fought with much courage and eagerness on both sides; each part striving to outvie the other in valour: at length the covenanters were overthrown, three thousand of their foot-souldiers being slain, but most of their horse escaped by a more timely than honourable flight.

Hurrey with his broken troops fled unto Bailly, after whom Montros (having a few days refreshed his souldiers) followed after; whom Bailly provokes unto battel, which he refused, yet nevertheless by frequent skirmishes, and especially breaking up their quarters in the night, he so weakened their power and courage, that as well commanders as souldiers, hastily and disorderly betook themselves by night to Inverness, when none pursued them.

In the mean time the earl of Lindsey, the prime ring-leader of the covenanters next unto Argile, had raised a new army, and had passed over with his forces into Angus, intending to be a reserve unto Bailly. Montros resolving to quell this new army, marches against him with such speed, that the news of his approach was not so swift as himself: and now Lindsey was not above seven miles from him, and all things ready for an assault, when (upon what occasion it is uncertain) almost all the northern men privately ran away from their colours, and going back the way that they came, return into their country: by which means that victory slipped through his fingers, which he had almost grasped in his hand.

There-



Therefore taking up new resolutions, he sendeth the lord Gordon and Mac-donel to levy more forces ; and now Lindsey pretending to do some famous exploit, takes a thousand old souldiers from Baily, leaving him as many new-rai's'd men in their rooms : Montros having notice hereof, desires to fight him, and sends a trumpet to offer a set battle ; but Baily answers, he would not receive order to fight from an enemy. Yet at last, through the rashness of the lord Balcarise, a colonel of Horse, who precipitated himself and the horse under his command into danger, he was forced thereunto ; whereupon a bloody fight ensued, wherein Baily was overthrown, with the loss greatest part of his army. This battel was fought at Alford on the 2d of July, 1645.

Montros having obtained this victory, marches into Angus, where he met his couzen Patrick Graham, with his Athol-men ready to live and die under his command, and Mac-donel with a great power of Highlanders ; so that being reinforced with such an army, he resolves to make his way into the very heart of the kingdom : and passing over the Tay at Dunkeldon, encamped in Methfyn Forrest. The covenanters at that time held a parliament at St. John's town, but hearing of Montros's approach, they secured themselves by flight : he to increase their terrour, drew nearer to the town ; but finding it not safe for him to descend into the champion country, having such want of horse, he retreated to little Dunkeldon.

But that want was soon supplied by a party from the north, under the earl of Aboine, and colonel Nathaniel Gordon, the earl of Airley,



and sir David his son ; so that being now thus recruited, he thought it not good to lose any time, but marched straight towards the enemy. And having in vain several times proffered them battle, at last it came to a pitcht field in a place called Kilfythe, where the covenanters, though they overmatcht him in number, yet came so far behinde him in valour, that he obtained over them an absolute victory, having the killing of them for fourteen miles ; so that of all their foot it is thought there did not an hundred come off ; nor did their horse escape very well, of whom some were killed, some taken, the rest disperst. Their ordnance, their arms, their spoils, came clearly to the conquerours, who lost only six of their men : on the other side were slain six thousand ; a great disproportion in number ; and did not the effects which followed this victory make it the more credible, it might seem to some a falsehood, if not an impossibility.

For presently afterwards was a great alteration all the kingdom over, the chief of the nobility who sided with the covenanters, some fled to Barwick, some to Carlile, some to Newcastle, others into Ireland ; the marquess of Douglass, the earls of Limmuck, Annandale, and Hertfield ; the lord barons of Seton, Drummond, Fleming, Maderly, Carnegy, and Johnston, with many others of great quality, submitted themselves : such as before only privately wisht well unto the king, now expressed it openly. The cities and countries that were furthest off, began to dispatch their commissioners to profess in



in their names their allegiance to their king, their duty and service to his vice-gerent, and freely to offer him men, arms, provision, and other necessities of war. The city of Edinburgh to ingratiate themselves with the conquerours, they released their prisoners, of whom the chiefest were the earl of Crawford, and James lord Ogleby, son to the earl of Airly, whom with their delegates they sent to Montros, to entreat for peace, proffering submission, and promising obedience for the time to come; yea, the whole kingdom every where sounded nothing but Montrosses praise. But what thing on earth is permanent! many of his souldiers being loaden with spoil, ran privily away from their colours, and returned home. Presently after, their very commanders desired furloughs for a little while, pretending that the enemy had no army within the borders of the kingdom, and therefore their service for the present might very well be spared; the earl of Aboine (whether the lord governour would or no) carried away with him not only his own men, but all the rest of the northern forces: yea, Alexander Mac-donel, who had hitherto continued so faithful, departed into the Highlands with more than three thousand stout men, and sixscore of the best Irish, promising with a solemn oath their sudden return, yet he never saw Montros after.

Montros seeing it would be no better, with his small army passing by Edinburgh, (into which he would not enter, by reason the plague then raged in the city) led them through Lothianshire, and in Strathgale joyned with some forces raised by the marquess of Douglass; afterwards



terwards he marches to Niddisdale and Annandale, and the country of Ayre, that he might there raise what horse he could; and coming to Selkirk, he quartered his horse in a village, and his foot in a wood close by. His army consisting of only five hundred foot, and those Irish, and a very weak party of new-raised horse.

Lesley understanding his weak condition, (having been newly sent for out of England to help the covenanters in their exigency) with six thousand horse, made much speed, that before he was discried by Montrosses scouts, he was not above half a mile off. Montross at that present was very busie in dispatching letters to the king, but upon news of Lesley's coming, he mounts the first horse he could light on, and gallops into the field appointed for the rendezvous, where he finds a great deal of noise, but no order. The cavalry being little acquainted with duty, and lying already dispersed in their quarters, where they dreamt more of bathing their horses, than maintaining their lives and honours; yet there were a few, and those were for the most part noblemen and knights, who made all speed thither, and gallantly undertook to make good the right wing: but they being not above sixscore in all, and being assailed by so potent an enemy, multitude overcoming valour, having twice repulsed their enemy with loss, at last they betook themselves to flight, the foot fighting a good while stoutly and resolutely, were forced to yield, but found little mercy from the conquerour, putting them all to the sword. Montross seeing his men routed, (which he never saw before) rallying



ing about thirty horse whom he had gathered up in that confusion, he desperately chargeth thorow the enemy, who hotly pursuing him, to make his flight the more honourable, he chargeth his pursuers, routs them, and carries away one Bruce a captain of horse, and two cornets with their standards, prisoners.

And now being safe from danger, he makes what hast he could into Athol, to recruit his army. Aboine bringing him fifteen hundred foot, and three hundred horse; with some addition of the Athol-men, he crosseth the Forth, and came into Leven, which he destroyed without any resistance; but his forces too weak to resist so powerful an army as the enemy had then in the field, he returneth back into the country of Athol, and goeth himself in person to Bogia-castle upon the mouth of Spey, to speak with Huntley; (having by messengers often fruitlessly solicited him to joyn with him.) As soon as they met, Montros invited him in smooth and gentle language to associate with him in the war for the safety of the king and kingdom, and gave him so full satisfaction in all things, as that being at last overcome, he seemed to give him his hand, and promised that not only all his men, but he himself would come in person in the head of them, and be with him with all possible speed. And for the better managing of the war they agreed that Huntley waisting over the Spey, should make his way on the right hand, by the sea-coast of Murrey, and Montros was to go round about on the left hand thorow Strath Spey, and so to besiege Inverness (a strong garison of the covenanters) on both sides.



In the mean time a convention of the estates was held at St. Andrew's, wherein were condemned and executed colonel Nathaniel Gordon, sir Robert Spotswood, Andrew Guthery son to the bishop of Murray, and William Murray brother to the earl of Tullibarden. The crimes objected against them was no less than high-treason; the facts they were guilty of, *Loyalty to the King*. For the same cause was beheaded not long before, sir William Rollock, Alexander Ogleby, of an ancient and honourable family, and sir Philip Nesbit.

The death of his friends troubled Montross exceedingly; yet abhorring their cruelty by inflicting the like on those prisoners he had of theirs, he resolved to revenge their deaths in a more noble way; and with his army marched to besiege Inverness, the most considerable garrison of all the north, and the haven there most commodious for entertaining forreign forces. Now had Huntley with his army come up to have blocked up that side of the town he undertook to do, the garrison for want of provision had been forced to yield: but he trifling away his time in Murray, a good way off Inverness, without either honour or profit, gave major general Middleton time to raise six hundred horse and eight hundred foot to raise the siege; and notwithstanding Huntley had notice thereof by Montross, yet could he receive no answer from him but what relisht of scornfulness; nay so far off were they from affording him assistance, that Montross having sent three troops of horse to lie at the fords of the Spey, to observe the motion of



of the enemy, and if they came, to send him often and certain intelligence; Lewis Gordon, Huntley's son, who then commanded the castle of Rothes, invited the captains to a banquet in his castle, perswading them to leave off their needless guards, and that the enemy lay very far off; where with dainty cheer and store of wine, he detained them so long, till Middleton with a great army of horse and foot had got over the Spey, and set footing in Murray; so that had not Montrofs had notice of their approach another way, he had had a sharper bout now than he had at Selkirk; but Montrofs knowing them too strong for him in horse, avoyding the plain, he retreated with his men beyond the Ness; and notwithstanding their often falling upon his rear, yet he so well managed his retreat, that with little loss he advanced unto the bank of the Spey, safe from his enemies horse.

And now he resolved without further delay to make his progress over all the North Country and Highlands, with a considerable party, to list souldiers, to encourage the well disposed, to reduce those that were refractory, by the severity of the laws and condigne punishment, and to deal with them as men use to do with sick children, make them to take physick whether they will or no; but whilst he was busie about his design, there came a herald unto him from the king, (who by I know not what misfortune, had cast himself upon the Scotch covenanters at Newcastle) whereby he was required forthwith to lay down his arms and disband, and to depart into France, and there to wait his majesties further pleasure. He being astonished with this unexpected



pected message, bitterly bewailed the sad condition of the king, that had forced him to cast himself upon the mercy of his deadly enemies: yet not to be guilty of that crime, and especially lest the covenanters should put his actions upon the king's account, and use him the worse for them, seeing they had him in their power, he according to the king's command disbanded his army.

Now it was articted betwixt the king and the covenanters, that Montros should depart Scotland within a month, and that they should find him shipping, with provision, and all things necessary when he went; but they seeking to circumvent him, sent him no ship for his transportation until the last day allowed for his stay; the ship it self ill victualled, and worse rigg'd; so that when Montros shewed himself ready to depart, the master of the ship told him, that he must have some days allowed him to pitch and rig his ship, before he durst adventure himself to the wind and waves. Moreover, there lay great English ships and men of war, every day in sight about the mouth of the river Esk, (by which he was to pass) attending there in favour of the covenanters, for their much desired booty, that by no means he might escape their hands.

But Montros smelling out their designs, had sent some beforehand to search diligently the havens in the north; who by good fortune in the haven of Stanhyve, found a small bark of Bergen in Norway: the master thereof was soon agreed with; thither Montros sent several of his friends, whom he knew could not be safe for



for never so little a while in that country ; and they on the third of September, 1646, having a good wind, put forth to sea for Norway, and the same evening Montrofs himself, accompanied only with one James Wood, a worthy preacher, by a small cock-boat, got into a bark which lay at anchor without the haven of Montrofs, and being clad in a course suit, the lord and patron passed for his chaplain's servant.

Montrofs having thus cleared himself out of his enemies hands, went into France, where by the general consent of the princes bloud and the rest of the nobility, he was designed captain-general of all the strangers in that kingdom ; a place of great honour and trust : but cardinal Mazarine thwarting his designs, (being a professed foe to Scots in that kingdom) he took his journey into Holland, where the prince then was, in pursuit of his former intentions. But duke Hamilton (a name fatal to the house of the Stuarts) who formerly was his irreconcilable enemy, was now his competitor ; so that Montrofs seeing no good there to be done, travelled up into Germany, and so to Austria, where by the emperour he was courteously entertained and amongst many other honours conferred on him, he freely proffered him the command of ten thousand men for a standing army against the Swede. But peace being concluded betwixt these two potentates, (intending a journey for Scotland) being honourably dismissed, he addresses himself to the dukes of Brandenburg and Holstein ; and having gathered together about six or seven hundred men, fearing he should have an express command to desist from



from his purpose, because the treaty betwixt the prince and the Scottish commissioners was now very near a conclusion, made him precipitate himself and those that were with him into most inevitable ruine ; for considering his small preparation, it was a desperate action to attempt so mighty a business : but the matter being fatal, he must needs contribute his own endeavours towards that destruction which his cruel fortune had provided for him. Nor could the loss of two ships with all the men and arms therein, (whom he had sent before to prepare his way) alter his resolution ; but with the rest of his company passes over to Orkney, and having raised what force he could there, embarks himself, and in a short space lands upon the point of Cathnes, which is the farthest land to the north-west of Scotland, as knowing the world was much astonisht at this invasion. Now whilst the king was upon a treaty, he published a declaration, wherein he laboured to clear himself of any aspersions of sinister ends ; that his intention was only against some particular persons, who had against the laws of the kingdom, raised and maintained a war against the king's father, and did now by their subtile practises endeavour to destroy the son also. But the country for several causes did not come to second him as he expected ; so that being encountered by the earl of Sunderland and colonel Straughern, his army was overthrown, two hundred killed, and twelve hundred taken. In this skirmish was taken the standard which he had caused to be made of purpose to move the affections of the people, with this motto, *Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord ;*



*Lord*; and the portraict of the late king be-headed, exactly well done. The Standard-bearer, a very gallant young gentleman, was killed, after he had several times refused quarter: there was colonel Hurrey taken, the lord Frenderick, sir Francis Hay of Dalgety, col. Hay of Naughton, col. Gray, and most of the officers, and two ministers.

Montros himself, after he saw the day was absolutely lost, having with his sword hewn out his way through the midst of his enemies, hoping fortune might afterward be more favourable to him, he endeavours by policy to save his life; and forsaking his horse, throws away his cloak and sword; then exchanging apparel with a highlander, in that habit keeps himself undiscovered in the fields for three or four days together: but such narrow search being made for him, that he could not long escape, he freely discovers himself to the lord of Aston, who had been one of his followers before, thinking to find friendship at his hands; but he, greedy of the reward which was promised to his apprehender by the council of state, money having a deeper impression in his heart than amity, seized on him, and with a strong guard conveyed him to said Lesly.

Being now in the custody of his mortal enemies, from whom he could not expect the least favour, he yet exprest a singular constancy, and in a manner carelesness of his own condition. And now joyful of their prey, they conduct him to Edinburgh, where by the way lodging one night at the town of Dundee, notwith-



standing they had suffered more by his army than any town else within that kingdom, yet were they so far from insulting over him, that they testified a great deal of sorrow for his woful condition, and furnished him with clothes suitable to his birth and person. The parliament of Scotland being otherwise affected, who was then informed of his taking, thought fit to give out this sentence against him before he came to Edinburgh: *That so soon as he should come to Town, he should be met at the Gate by the Magistrates and Hangman: That he should be tied with Cords upon a Cart bare-headed, and the Hangman to ride upon the horse that drew the Cart, covered before him, and so to be brought through the Town: That he should be hanged on a Gibbet at the Cross of Edenburg until he died, his History and Declaration hanging about his neck, and so hang three hours in publick view of all the people: after which, he should be beheaded and quartered; his head to be fix'd upon the Prison-house of Edenburg, and his Legs and Arms over the Gates of the Cities of Sterling, Glascow, St. John's Town, and Aberdeen.* All which was executed upon him with a great deal of insultation, especially of the ministry, who having him now at their mercy, could never be satisfied with his calamities; they reviled him with all possible spite, objected frequently to him his former condition, and his present misery; and pronounced heavy judgments against him; and being asked why they could not otherwise be satisfied but by so ignominious handling of him? they replied, *They knew no other way to humble him, and bring him home to God.*

The



The fatal day being come designed to put a period to all his troubles, there was erected in the middle of the market-place a large scaffold brest-high, in the midst of which was planted a gibbet of extraordinary height; to this place was he conducted by the bayliffs; he was clothed in a scarlet-cloak richly laced with gold-lace. As he came along the streets in great state, there appeared in his countenance so much beauty, majesty, and gravity, as amazed the beholders. John Taylor's honest verses will serve for this dishonourable Scotch expedition.

*In a good Cause to die it is no shame,  
Although a Halter do procure the same.*

Being come thither, he was much detained with a great many frivolous questions, of which, partly the ministers, partly those whom the states suffered to be about him, desired to be satisfied. He made a short speech, in which he was often interrupted, the tenour of which was, *That he was satisfied in his Conscience for what he had done for his Royal Master the King, as in relation to War. That for his own particular sins (which were infinite) he had begg'd pardon earnestly of God, and had an inward hope to obtain it. He freely forgave all those who had sought his overthrow, and intreated the charity of all the people to pray both for him and themselves.* The ministers, because he was under the sentence of excommunication, refused to pray for him, and even on the very scaffold were very bitter against him. After he had about a quarter of an hour prayed with his hat before his eyes, he was



ready to go to his suffering ; when his book, and declaration, and all other printed papers which he had published in his life, being tied in a string together, were hanged about his neck. He was very earnest that he might have the liberty to keep on his hat ; it was denied : he requested he might have the privilege to keep his cloak about him ; neither would that be granted. In despite of all their affronts, uncivil and barbarous usage, with a most undaunted courage he went up to the top of that prodigious gibbet ; where having freely pardoned the executioner, he gave him three or four pieces of gold ; when this was done, and his arms tied, he asked the officers, *If they had any more dishonour, as they conceived it, to put upon him, he was ready to accept it.* Then commanding the hangman at the uplifting of his hands to tumble him over, he was accordingly thrust off by the weeping executioner, who with his more honest tears seemed to revile the cruelty of his country-men.

Some write, that though he had not the courteous invention of an epitaph by any of his friends to memorize him, that he was so zealous of the fame of his great master Charles the first, that with the point of his sword he wrote these following lines.

*Great, good, and just, could I but rate  
My griefs, and thy so rigid fate ;  
I'd weep the world to such a strain,  
As it should deluge once again.*

*But*



*But since thy loud-tongu'd Bloud demands supplies,  
More from Briareus hands than Argus eyes,  
I'll sing thy Obsequies with Trumpets sounds,  
And write thy Epitaph with Bloud and Wounds.*

Montrofs.

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*Observations on the Life of James  
Stanley, Earl of Darby.*

THIS heroick earl is deservedly placed amongst our English Worthies, whose ancestors were so eminent for their loyalty and hospitality, as made them king of *Hearts* as well as *Man*; which title was conferred on sir John Stanley by king Henry the fourth, and held by his posterity unto this day, never tainted with treason nor disloyalty; beloved both by prince and people, being such good landlords, and letting their lands at the old rent, that people thrived better on their tenements than they did on their own free-hold.

This noble earl had to wife Charlotte, the daughter of Claude Duc de la Tremouille, and Charlotte of Nassau, daughter to William of Nassau prince of Orange; a woman of as unparallel'd vertues, so also of undaunted courage, as the sequel of her life will make manifest. This earl was one of the first which appeared for his majesty at York, when he was driven thither by the London-tumults; from whence he was ordered back again into Lancashire, to prepare



for the king's reception upon a resolution taken for the setting up of the standard-royal at Warrington. Immediately upon his return, he mustered the county on the three heaths by Berry, Ormskirk, and Preston; where he had an appearance of at least 20000 men on each field; intending the same course likewise in Cheshire and North-Wales, whereof he was lieutenant. But whilst he was intent thereupon, the place for the standards setting up was changed from Warrington to Nottingham; which very much alter'd the earl's proceedings for the king in those parts; for the countries not coming in to Nottingham as was expected, the king by an express desired his lordship forthwith to raise what men he could, and to come up to him: but by that time the state of the country was much changed; a great part of them being resolved to stand neuter, and others joyning with the rebels, had already seized upon Manchester. Nevertheless, his lordship, among his own tenants, dependants, and private friends, raised three regiments of foot, and three troops of horse, all which at a vast expence he cloathed and armed at his own charge; and with these forces drew up before the town of Manchester, and summon'd it: and upon their refusal to treat, gave directions for an assault at four next morning, not doubting but to carry it. But in the very juncture of time he was commanded away, and in two days brought up his three regiments and three troops to his majesty, being at Shrewsbury, which being disposed of to other officers, the king desired the earl to hasten back, and take the best care he could of the country. And now (as he had  
been



been once before) he was by the parliament, with the largest terms imaginable, solicited to joyn with them, or quit the king's service. But his noble spirit hating such perfidioufness, returned this answer: *When I turn Traytor, I may bearken to these Propositions; but till then, let me have no more of these Papers, at the peril of him that brings them.* And now finding the enemy to have garison'd Lancaster and Preston, and in a manner commanded the whole country, he thought it high time to look to himself; and by the assistance of some friends, made a shift to raise so many men, as with them to cut off three companies at Houghton-Common, and after that to take in Lancaster and Preston, by storm; and Manchester had in probability followed, if both his auxiliaries, and his own forces too, had not been called away, and disappointed him in that attempt.

And now making preparations for the fortifying his house at Latham, he was on a sudden called away, upon information that the enemy had a design upon the Isle of Man; leaving the prosecution thereof to the protection and defence of his incomparable lady, to whose charge he committed his children, and other English concerns: and most particularly, the care of his honour, in defending the house till his majesty might send relief, which he hoped would not be long.

The countess thus left alone, and the house not as yet fortified, the enemy looked upon it now as their own already: but things are not so soon done as said, for this noble countess, not to be parallel'd by any but the lady Mary Win-



ter, with as much diligence and secrecy as possible, furnished her self with men, arms, and ammunition. The men being generally raw, and unexperienced, she caused them to be listed, and trained, under six captains, viz. captain Farrington, Charnock, Chisenhal, Rawsthorpe, Ogles, and Molineux Radcliffe, who were to receive orders from captain Farmer, as major of the garrison, and he from her ladyship. And high time it was to bestir her: for soon after sir Thomas Fairfax with an army came before it, who sent a trumpet, and with him a person of quality to the lady, to desire a conference, which was granted, and immediately sir Thomas Fairfax, and some gentlemen with him were admitted; whose commission was to demand the delivery of the house; upon which condition, they offered her an honourable and safe remove, with her children, servants, and goods, (arms and cannon only excepted) to her own house at Knowsley, and a protection there from any further molestation; and the one moiety of her lord's estate in England (*very merciful men*) for the support of her self and children. But the countess (who had not made all that preparation for nothing) answered, that she was under a double trust; of faith to her husband, and allegiance to her sovereign: that without their leave she could not give it up, and therefore desired a month's time for her answer; which being denied, she added, that she hoped they would excuse her, if she preserved her honour and obedience, though in her own ruine.

And now seeing words would not prevail, they resolve to lay a formal siege against the house.

But



But about fourteen days after, sir Thomas Fairfax being commanded away to other service, would try her with another summons, and a trumpet was sent to her for a present surrender, who was as soon dispatched back again with this short answer, that, *she had not as yet forgotten what she ow'd to the Church of England, to her Prince, and to her Lord; and that till she had lost either her Honour, or her Life, she would defend the place.*

Now for the better understanding this siege, you must know, that the house stands upon a flat; being a boggy, spumous ground. It was encompassed with a wall of two yards thick; without the wall a mote eight yards wide, and two yards deep. Upon the walls were nine towers, flanking one another: on each tower six pieces of ordnance, that play'd three one way, three the other. Beside these, there was in the middle of the house a high tower, called the eagle-tower; and the gate-house was also a strong and lofty building, in the entrance to the first court. Upon the tops of these towers were placed the choicest marks-men, as deer-men, keepers, fowlers, and the like, who shrewdly galled the enemy, and cut off several of their officers in the trenches.

So that finding it to be a longer work to reduce it, then was expected, Fairfax departed, leaving the management of it to colonel Peter Egerton, and major Morgan, who fell presently to work upon a line of circumvallation; but to disturb them in their approaches, the lady ordered a sally of two hundred men commanded by major Farmer, who beat the enemy from  
their



their trenches up to their main-guard, kill'd about sixty of them, and took some prisoners; with the loss only of two men. And now being warned by this disaster, they doubled their guards, and drew their line at a greater distance; but they were so plyed with sallies, that it was fourteen weeks time before they could finish it. And therefore finding their work to go but slowly on, to make the more hast, they ran a deep trench near the mote, where they raised a strong battery, and planted upon it a mortar-piece, that cast stones and granado's of sixteen inches diameter. And indeed this had like to have done pestilent execution, the first granado falling close to the table, where the lady, her children, and the officers were all at dinner; which shivered the room, but hurt no body: however, to prevent such danger for the future, they resolved upon a sally, to attempt the taking of the mortar-piece. In this action, Molineux Radcliffe had the forelorn, Chisenhall the body, and Farmer commanded the reserve; who after half an hour's sharp dispute, possess'd themselves of all their works, nail'd, and over-turn'd all their cannon, or roul'd them into the mote, and for a trophy of their victory carried off the mortar-piece into the house.

During this combate the countess was at her devotions (prayer being the best leaver at a dead lift) it being her constant practice to begin all these publick actions with prayers, and to close them with thanksgivings, she being as eminent for her piety, no less than for her resolution. This action was performed April 26, 1644, the  
very



very day appointed for a general assault, and with orders to put every creature to the sword. But man proposes, and God disposes. And now was colonel Egerton removed, and colonel Rigby (a malicious enemy of the earl of Derby's) made commander in chief, who promised to himself wonders, though his mountainous thoughts had but molehill successes, yet for a matter of a fortnight he carried on his works without much disturbance, for want of powder in the garrison; but that defect being supplied by a sally, the countess proposed a fresh assault of all their trenches, which was accordingly agreed upon; and Raufthorn had the forlorn, Farmer the battel, and Chisenhal the reserve; who according to their wonted manner, animated with a just cause, fought so resolutely, as beat the enemy from their works, cleared their trenches, nailed their great-guns, and kill'd a hundred and twenty men, with the loss only of three souldiers, and five or six wounded. And now after a four months siege, and the loss of about two thousand men (so gallantly did this garrison behave themselves) Rigby sent the countess a huffing summons: but paper-pellets would not batter her resolution, returning him an answer becoming her worth and dignity.

The loyal earl was all this while in the Isle of Man, but now allarum'd with his ladies distress in Latham, he hasted forthwith to his majesty to beg relief; who gave way that prince Rupert should take Lancashire in his way to York, whither he was then designed, according to which orders, no sooner was he entered into Lancashire, but Rigby hearing of it, raised his siege from



from Latham, and march'd to Bolton, (a strong garison of the enemies) where with the addition of other forces, to two thousand of his own, he made up a body of two thousand five hundred foot, and five hundred horse. The prince informed that Rigby had quitted Latham, and was fortified in Bolton, marched directly thither, and gave order for an assault; which his souldiers very gallantly attempted, but were repulsed, with the loss of two hundred men, the enemy killing the souldiers they took upon the walls, in cold blood, before the prince his eyes; which exasperated them on to a second assault, wherein the earl of Derby desired of his highness the command of two companies of his own old foot, and the honour of the forlorn; which was granted him, and the town in less than half an hour entered, upon each quarter; the earl of Derby himself being the first man that entered it. Rigby made his escape, but left two thousand of his men behind him, and was himself laid aside. And here one thing very remarkable happened: there was one Boothe, a captain in the town, and formerly a porter in Latham, who upon leaving the house, swore voluntarily, that he would never bear arms against the king. This fellow being in the heat of the storm encompassed with souldiers, and seeing his lord, begg'd quarter of him; who gave him this answer, *I will not kill thee my self, and I cannot save thee from others.* This perjur'd man's death was afterwards falsely and villanously charged upon the earl of Derby, by Bradshaw (brother to the president, that special stick of wood) and Rigby, at his tryal. Amongst

2. if not Boothe



Amongst other spoils taken, there were many colours, which the prince sent to the countess of Derby by sir Richard Crane; who received them as a singular honour, and caused them to be hung up, as happy remembrances of God's mercy, and the prince's generosity towards her. His highness next work was the reducing of Liverpool; and from thence he went to Latham, where he refreshed himself and his army for three or four days, being entertained by the earl and his lady, answerably to his illustrious quality and merit. Somewhat before his departure, he gave directions for the repairing and fortifying of the house, and at the request of the countess of Derby, gave the government of it to captain Edward Rawsthorne, whom he made colonel of a foot-regiment, and two troops of horse, for its defence; by whom the place was bravely defended full two years in a second siege; and at length by the king's order, delivered up; having cost the enemy at least six thousand men, and the garison about four hundred, being one of the last places that held out for his majesty in England.

But to return to the earl, who was never idle when any action of honour was on foot; he accompanied prince Rupert for the relieving of York, and was with him at the battel of Marston-Moor, where he rallied his country-men three times, with great courage and conduct, saying, *Let it never be said, that so gallant a Body of Horse lost the Field and saved themselves.* Whence he escaped to the Isle of Man, watching a fair opportunity to serve his majesty; to which purpose, entertaining all gentlemen of qua-



quality, whose misfortune cast them that way, and so keeping in arms a good body of horse and foot, he seized several vessels belonging to the rebels, and by sir John Berkinhead kept a constant correspondence with his majesty.

During his being in the Isle of Man, the rebels had perfidiously seized upon his children, and made them close prisoners; and then (with their forefather *Satan*) they fell to tempting the earl with the promise of a peaceable enjoyment of his family, and freedom at his own house, and the one moiety of his whole estate, if he would deliver up the Isle of Man: to which he returned this magnanimous refusal (even when the cause it self was given for lost) *That he would never redeem his Children by his disloyalty; keeping it firm for the king (Charles the second) until by his command he went into Lancashire to raise forces, his majesty being then in his march from Scotland to Worcester, upon assurance that the Presbyterians would joyn with the Royalists, in order to his majesties restauration; and when he found their ministers obstinately to oppose any conjunction, unless he would take the Covenant; what could be more brave and pertinent, than his final determination, which he delivered to them in these terms, If I perish, I perish; But if my Master perish, the blood of another Prince, and all the ensuing miseries of this Nation, will lie at your doors.*

And with this resolution he muster'd up two thousand gentlemen; fourteen hundred of whom joyned with the king's army, and with the other six hundred he stay'd behind to raise the country for



for his majesty : but before he got his levies into a consistency, he was encountered by the rebels in Wigan-lane, where he maintained a fight for two hours against three thousand horse and foot, with his six hundred horse, in a place of much disadvantage ; in which encounter he received seven shot on his breast-plate, thirteen cuts upon his beaver over a steel-cap, five or six wounds upon his arms and shoulders, and had two horses killed under him. There were slain also in this fight, the lord Widdrington, sir Thomas Tildesly, colonel Trollop, colonel Bointon, lieutenant-colonel Galiard, with some others of good note.

The earl himself, though deeply wounded, made a shift to escape, and got to Boscobel-house, a very obscure habitation in Shropshire, but adjoyning upon Staffordshire, from whence he was conducted to the king at Worcester, and took his part of that unhappy battel, exposing himself to any danger, rather than to the traitors mercy ; but by good providence he escaped from thence, shewing his majesty the happy hiding place at Boscobel, and there conjuring the *Penderils*, by the love of God, by their allegiance, and by all that is sacred, to take care of his majesty, whose safety he valued above his own, venturing himself with other noble men after Lesly, who was retreated northward with the main body of the Scottish horse, but before they could overtake them, a little beyond Newport, some of colonel Lilburne's men met them in the front, other rebels from Worcester pursued them in the rear, themselves and horses being sufficiently tired, the earl of Derby, earl of  
of



of Lauderdail, Mr. Charles Gifford, and some others, were taken and carried prisoners first to Whitchurch, and from thence to an inne in Bunbury in Cheshire, where Mr. Gifford found means to make an escape, but the noble earl of Derby was thence conveyed to Westchester, and there tryed by a pretended court martial, by vertue of a commission from Cromwel, grounded on an execrable *Rump-Act*, the very title whereof cannot be mentioned without horror, but it pretended most trayterously to *prohibit correspondence with CHARLES STUART*, under penalty of *High-Treason, loss of Life and Estate, &c.*

This mechanick court, consisting of twenty colonels and captains, whereof colonel Humphry Mackworth was president, condemned this noble earl to death, notwithstanding his just plea, *That he had Quarter for life, given him by one Captain Edge, who took him Prisoner.* But this could not obtain justice; nor any intercession, mercy: so upon the 15 of October, 1651, he was conveyed to Bolton, with the tears and prayers of the people all along the road, who cryed, *O sad day, O woful day, shall the good Earl of Derby, the ancient Honour of our Country, die here!* And when they had him at Bolton, it was a good while before they could get a carpenter or any other person that would so much as strike a naile to erect a scaffold, which was built at the cross, part of it with the timber of his own house at Latham. At which place, 1. After a fervent and excellent prayer for his majesty, whose justice, valor, and discretion, he said, deserved the kingdom, if he were not born to it; the laws, the nation, his relations; and his own  
soul



soul (to which, he said to the company, God gave a gracious answer in the extraordinary comforts of his soul, being never afterwards seen sad ) 2. After an heavenly discourse of his carriage towards God, and God's dispensation towards him, at which the souldiers wept, and the people groaned. 3. After a charge he lay'd to his son, to be dutiful to his mother, tender to his distressed brothers and sisters, studious of the peace of his country, and careful of the old Protestant Religion, which he said (to his great comfort) he had settled in the Isle of Man, he being himself an excellent Protestant, his enemies themselves being judges.

After a tumult among the souldiers and people, out of pitty to this noble martyr, with a sign he gave twice (the headsmen first not heeding him, whereupon the good earl said, *Thou hast done me a great deal of wrong, thus to disturb and delay my blifs*) He died with this character thrown into his coffin, as it was carried off the scaffold, with the hideous cries and lamentations of all the spectators.

*Bounty, Wit, Courage, all here in one lie dead;  
A Stanley's hand, Veer's heart, and Cecil's head.*

In fine, never any man had a more generous mixture in him of the courage of a Roman, with the faith and resignation of a Christian. His sorrowful son, who was a sad spectator of this woful tragedy, out of a pious care, and filial duty, conveyed his corps back with him that night to Wiggan, and afterwards gave it honourable burial.



Yet could not all these sad disasters so beat down the heart of the heroick countess, but she still bare up to her primitive principles: for upon the parliament's demand of the Isle of Man, she refused to deliver it without license from his majesty; but what force could not, was compassed by fraud: for a wretch that had eaten of her lord's bread from a child, and been employed as a servant in places of great trust and advantage, having corrupted and prepared the Islanders for the design, seizes his lady and her children, (together with the Island) and she was kept a prisoner without any other relief than what came from the charity of her impoverished friends. And yet against these sufferings too, she still held out, until she saw the happy and much desired restauration of his sacred majesty Charles the second: and afterwards dyed, March 22, 1664, in her joynture-house at Knowsley in Lancashire.

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*Observations on the Life of Dr.  
Donne, Dean of Paul's.*

**T**HIS worthy prelate, whose learning hath made him deservedly famous, was born in London, extracted by his father's side from an ancient and worshipful family in Wales, and by his mother from the learned sir Thomas Moor, and the laborious judge Rastal, those two great pillars



pillars of law and learning. His first education was in his father's house, where a private tutor had the care of him; under whom he so profited, that at nine years of age he was sent to the University of Oxford, having besides the latine and greek, attained to a knowledge of the French tongue; languages which very few children understand at that age; nay, many scarcely their own.

Remaining in Hart-hall (having for the advancement of his studies, tutors in several sciences to instruct him) he in short time advanced to such a height of learning, as declared him fit to receive his first degree in the schools: but his parents being of the Romish perswasion, conscionably averse to some parts of the oath, dehorted him from it; whose advice, as paternal commands, he dutifully obeyed. Here fell he in acquaintance with that great master of language and art, sir Henry Wotton, betwixt whom was such friendship contracted, that nothing but death could force the separation.

And now (like a laborious bee desirous to gather honey from more flowers than one) he was transplanted from Oxford to Cambridge, (our other renowned nursery of learning) where he much improved his studies, but took no degree, for the reasons formerly mentioned.

Being about seventeen years of age, his father died, who left him three thousand pounds in ready money; his mother and those to whose care he was committed, willing he should be able to manage such an estate, took him from Cambridge, and placed him in Lincolns-Inne; where for the improvement of his knowledge, they



provided him tutors in several sciences, as the mathematicks and others; but with these they had instructions also, to instil him into the principles of the Romish church. And indeed they so wrought with him, (having for their advantage, besides their opportunity, the example of his most dear and pious parents) that they had almost obliged him unto their faith. But rectifying his judgement by the holy scriptures, and conferring papists and protestants works together, he was not only drawn off from their opinions, but more settledly grounded in the protestant religion.

And now having a youthful desire to travel, and a fit opportunity by occasion of the earl of Essex going to Cales, he embraced the advantage, and went along with him; and having seen the issue of that expedition, left them and went into Italy, and from thence into Spain; where by his industry he attained to a perfection in their languages, and returned home with many useful observations of those countrys, their laws, and government.

Soon after his return, the lord Elsmore, lord keeper of the great seal, and after chancellor of England, taking notice of his abilities, entertained him for his chief secretary; in whose service he fell in love with a gentlewoman who lived in that family, neece to the lady Elsmore, and daughter to sir George Moor, chancellor of the garter, and lieutenant of the Tower. And notwithstanding her friends opposed, and endeavoured what they could to prevent it, yet some faithful promises having interchangeably  
past



past betwixt them, they resolved, and did marry, without the knowledge or advice of those that might justly claim an interest in the disposing of them.

But his father-in-law sir George Moor, was so immeasurably incens'd at what was done, that he not only detained his wife from him, but procured the lord Elsmore to discharge him of the place he held under his lordship. And although the lord chancellor at his dismissal protested he thought him a fitter secretary for a king than a subject, yet could not this put a period to sir George's choler, never leaving till he had cast him into prison, as also his two special friends, master Samuel Brook, (who was after D. in D. and master of Trinity Colledge in Cambridge) who had married him, and his brother Mr. Christopher Brook of Lincoln's-Inne, who gave him his wife, and witnessed the marriage.

In the time of Mr. Donnes melancholy imprisonment, how true I know not, only I have heard it often discoursed, that he writ on the window with the point of his diamond, reflecting on the then present affliction of his marriage these words, *John Donne Anne Donne*, done and undone.

But long were they not there, but Mr. Donne got himself enlarged, and soon after his two friends; and long it was not ere the edge of his father-in-law's passion was taken off by the advice of some friends, who approved his daughter's choice: and although at present he refused to contribute any means that might conduce to their livelihood, yet did he bestow upon them his paternal blessing, and secretly laboured his son's



restauration into that place of which his own rashness had bereft him; although it found no success. The lord chancellor replying, *That tho' he was sorry for what he had done, yet it stood not with his credit to discharge and re-admit Servants at the request of passionate Petitioners.*

And now Mr. Donne by means of his father-in-law being brought out of employment, the greatest part of his portion by many and chargeable travels wasted, the rest disburs't in some few books, and dear-bought experience, was surrounded with many and sad thoughts. *And indeed no apprehension of discourtesie strikes so deep into a man, as to receive it from those where we expect the greatest courtesies; certainly he who hurts his Son-in-law, cannot chuse but harm his own Daughter.* Neither is it enough for him to say he repenteth him of what he hath done, unless withal he endeavour for him a new employment, and allow him maintenance so long as he is out of it: as did this good knight sir George Moor, who repenting of his error gave Mr. Donne a bond to pay him eight hundred pound at a certain day as a portion with his wife, and to pay him for their maintenance twenty pound quarterly, (as the interest of it) until the said portion were paid.

Master Donne during the time of his father-in-law's displeasure, was courteously entertained by their noble kinsman sir Francis Wally of Pirford, where he remained many years; who as their charge encreased, (for she had yearly a childe) so he encreased his love and bounty.

Sir Francis dying, he for a while kept house cham near Croyden in Surry: but being impor-



importuned by his friends, he left Micham, and had a convenient house assigned him by that honourable gentleman sir Robert Drury, next his own, in Drury-Lane, who not onely gave him his dwelling rent-free, but was also a daily cherisher of his studies.

And now was he frequently visited by men of greatest learning and judgement in this kingdom; his company desired by the nobility, and extremely affected by the gentry: his friendship was sought for of most forain embassadors; and his acquaintance intreated by many other strangers, whose learning or employment occasioned their stay in this kingdom. Divers of the nobility interceded for his preferment at court, and great hopes were given him of some state-employment; his majesty having formerly known and much valued him, was much pleased to hear his learned disputes, frequently used as they sat at meals. About this time was that great dispute in England concerning the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, in which the king had engaged himself; who talking occasionally with Mr. Donne, concerning some arguments urged by the Romanists, received such satisfactory answers, that he commanded him to state the points, and bring his reasons to him in writing; which within six weeks he performed, with such contentment to the king, that he perswaded him to enter into the ministry; to which Mr. Donne seemed to be modestly unwilling, his modesty apprehending it too weighty for his abilities; his friends also (knowing how his education had apted him) mediated with his majesty to prefer him to some civil employment: but the king, having a discerning

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cerning spirit, replied ; *I know Mr. Donne is a learned man, will prove an excellent Divine, and a powerful Preacher.* Which caused this learned king again to sollicite him to enter into sacred orders, which yet he deferred for the space of three years, applying himself in the mean time to an incessant study of textual divinity, and attained to an admirable perfection in the Greek and Hebrew tongues.

Soon after his entring into this holy profession, the king made him his chaplain in ordinary ; he attending his majesty in his progress to Cambridge, the University (knowing his worth) with a universal consent, made him doctor in divinity. Immediately after his return home, his wife dyed, leaving him the careful father of seven children living, (having buried five) to her he promised never to bring them under the subjection of a step-mother : and although his age, being but forty two years, might promise the contrary, yet kept he his word faithfully, burying with his most dear and deserving wife, all his sublunary joys in this world, and living a retired life, applied himself wholly to the exercise of divinity.

And now his preaching and godly conversation was grown so eminent, that fourteen advowsons of several benefices were offered unto him in the country ; but he, having a natural inclination to London, his birth place, refused them, and accepted of a lecture at Lincolns-Inne, being glad to renew his intermitted friendship with them ; where he continued for the space of three years, constantly and faithfully dispensing the word of God ; and they as freely requiting him  
with



with a liberal maintenance. About which time the Palgrave usurping the crown of Bohemia, much trouble arose in those kingdoms; for the composing whereof, the king sent the earl of Carlisle, (then viscount Doncaster) his ambassador to those unsettled princes; and by a special command from his majesty, doctor Donne was appointed to go along with him; which accordingly he did, to the great comfort of that virtuous lady the queen of Bohemia, who very gladly received him as the ambassador of Christ; and during his abode there, being a constant hearer of his most excellent and powerful preaching.

Within fourteen months he returned home, and about a year after his return, the deanry of St. Paul's being vacant by the removal of doctor Cary to the bishoprick of Exeter, the king bestowed the same upon him. At his entrance into the deanry he repaired the chappel belonging to his house, *Suffering* (as the psalmist hath it) *his eyes and temples to take no rest, until he had first beautified the house of God.* Soon after the vicarage of St. Dunstan's in London, fell to him by the death of Dr. White, with another ecclesiastical endowment, about the same time. Thus God blessed him that he was enabled to be charitable to the poor. His father-in-law sir George Moor, coming to pay him the conditioned sum of twenty pound, he refused it, saying, as good *Jacob* said when he heard his son *Joseph* lived, *It is enough, you have been kind to me, and careful of my Children, and I thank my God I am provided for; therefore I will receive it no longer:* and



and not long after freely gave up his bond of eight hundred pounds.

But as envy is always attendant on the best deserving, so did some malicious person whisper in the king's ear, that Dr. Donne had preached a sermon that implied a dislike of his government. The king herewith incensed, sent for him to answer the accusation; which was so satisfactory, as gave the king exceeding great content; who with much earnestness said to some of his council, *My Doctor is a very honest man.*

He was made dean in the fiftieth year of his age; and in the fifty fourth year a dangerous sickness seized him, which turned to a spotted fever, and ended in a cough, that inclined him to a consumption.

But it pleased God to restore him to his health, and to add unto his life five years more. August 1630, being with his daughter Mrs. Harvy, at Abrey-hatch in Essex, he fell into a fever, which with the help of his constant infirmity, *vapours from the Spleen*, brought him into a consumption; yet notwithstanding his disability, the first Friday in Lent being come, (which was his old constant day he was appointed to preach on) he resolved not to decline that service: and although some of his friends perswaded him from undertaking it, fearing it might be a means to shorten his days, he passionately denied their requests, saying, *He would not doubt that God who in many weaknesses had assisted him with an unexpected strength, would now withdraw it in his last employment.* His text was; *To God the Lord belong the issues from death.* Many that saw his tears, and heard his hollow voice, professing they thought



thought the text prophetically chosen, and that Dr. Donne had preach'd his own funeral-sermon.

He would often desire, if that God would be pleased to grant it, that he might die in the pulpit; if not that, yet that he might take his death in the pulpit; that is, die the sooner by occasion of those labours. And indeed we may justly conceive that God granted his requests; for soon after his sermon was over, hastening to his house, he never moved out of it, until like *St. Stephen*, *He was carried by devout men to the Grave*. During the time of his sickness, his spirits being much spent, which made him unapt to discourse, a friend asked him, why are you sad? to whom he replied after this manner; 'I am not sad, I am in a serious contemplation of the mercies of my God to me; and now I plainly see, it was his hand that prevented me from all temporal employment. And I see it was his will that I should never settle nor thrive until I entered into the ministry, in which I have now lived almost twenty years, (I hope to his glory) and by which (I most humbly thank him) I have been enabled to requite most of those friends that shewed me kindness when my fortunes were low.' And (as it hath occasioned the expression of my gratitude) I thank God, most of them have stood in need of my requital. I have been useful and comfortable to my good father-in-law sir George Moor, whose patience God hath been pleased to exercise by many temporal crosses. I have maintained my own mother, whom it hath pleased God after a plentiful fortune in her former times, to bring to a great decay in her very old age. I have  
quieted



' quieted the consciences of many that groaned  
 ' under the burthen of a wounded spirit, whose  
 ' prayers I hope are available for me. I cannot  
 ' plead innocency of life, (especially of my  
 ' youth) but I am to be judged of a merciful  
 ' God, who hath given me (even at this time)  
 ' some testimonies by his holy spirit, that I am  
 ' of the number of his elect. I am full of joy,  
 ' and shall die in peace.

He lay fifteen days earnestly expecting his  
 hourly change: his speech which had long been  
 his faithful servant, remained with him till his  
 last minute. In his very last hour (as his body  
 melted away and vapourated into spirit) his soul  
 having some revelation of the beatifical vision,  
 he said; *I were miserable if I might not die.* And  
 after many periods of his faint breath, with  
 these words, *Thy kingdom come, thy will be done,*  
 he rendred up his soul to him that gave it him.

He was buried in St. Paul's church, attended  
 with many persons of nobility and eminency.  
 After his burial some mournful friends repaired,  
 and as *Alexander* the great did to the grave of the  
 most famous *Achilles*, so they strewed his with  
 curious and costly flowers. Nor was this (though  
 not usual) all the honour done to his reverend  
 ashes; for some person (unknown) to perpetu-  
 ate his memory, sent to his two executors, Dr.  
 King, and Dr. Montford, an hundred marks to-  
 wards the making of a monument for him;  
 which they faithfully performed, it being as  
 lively a representation as in dead marble can be  
 made of him; though since by that merciless  
 fire in 1666, it be quite ruined.

The



The recreation of his youth was poetry, in which he was so happy, as if nature with all her varieties had been made to exercise his great wit and high fancy: nor did he leave it off in his old age, as is witnessed by many of his divine sonnets, and other high, holy, and harmonious compositions.

He left behind him many fruits of his labours, as six-score sermons, all writ with his own hand; a large and laborious treatise entituled *Biathanatos*, concerning self-murther. The resultance of fourteen hundred authors, most of them analyzed with his own hand. Nor were those onely found in his study, but all busineses that pass'd of any publick consequence in this or any of our neighbour-kingdoms, he abbreviated either in Latine, or in the language of the nation, and kept them by him for a constant memorial.

*Observations on the Life of Dr.  
Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich.*

**T**HIS reverend prelate was born at Ashby-de-la Zouch, in Leicester-shire, July 1, 1574, where his father, under the earl of Huntington, was governour or baily of the town. His promising parts in his childhood were admirable, so that he was destined to an academical life; for as soon almost as Emanuel-colledge was admitted into Cambridge, he was admitted into that colledge; a colledge which for good orders, studi-  
ous



ous carriage, strict government, and austere piety, if it hath any equals, I dare say hath no superiours. He passed all his degrees, with great applause, being much noted in the University, for an ingenious position (be it truth or paradox) that *Mundus senescit, The world groweth old*: yet in some sort his position, confuted his position, the wit and quickness whereof did argue an encrease, rather than a decay of parts in this latter age.

His first church-preferment was the rectory of Halsted in Suffolk, where he bestowed great cost in repairing the parsonage-house; and being by his affairs inclined to a married state, as he walked from church with Mr. Grandige, a reverend neighbour-minister, he saw a modest and comely gentlewoman, daughter to Mr. George Winniffe of Brettenham, at the door of that house where they were invited to a wedding-dinner; whose discreet deportment so won upon his affections, that having obtained her and her friends consent, he was married unto her, becoming his wife for forty-nine years after.

Soon after, upon the importunity of sir Edward Bacon, he attended him to the Spaw in Ardena, out of his curiosity to make an ocular inspection into the state of the Romish church, under the protection of the earl of Hertford, then embassadour to arch-duke Albert. In which voyage they passed through many dangers, not so much by the perils of sea, as by his Romish adversaries, who knowing him a man of superexcellent parts, according to their old principles, whom they cannot confute, they seek to confound: yet returned he safe into his own coun-



country, and went to London, upon the overture of a preacher's place at St. Edmund's-Bury : but missing that, he was by Edward lord Denny (afterwards earl of Norwich) placed at Waltham-Abbey in Essex, continuing there two and twenty years, where his little catechism (delivered without-book with the same exactness it was penned) did much good in that populous parish; and it is to be wished that ordinance were generally used all over England.

Being doctor of divinity, there was a synod assembled at Dort in Holland, consisting of learned divines, sent from the count Palatine of the Rhine, from Heflia, from Switzerland, from the church of Geneva, from Bern, Embden, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friezland, and other provinces. Four also were by king James sent from England; namely, George bishop of Landaff, John Davenant professor of divinity in the University of Cambridge, Samuel Ward master of Sidney-colledge in Cambridge, and this our learned doctor Hall: and for Scotland, Walter Balcanquel, batchelor of divinity. But our doctor's weak body agreeing not with the unquietness of those garisoned towns, after some pathetick speeches and motions for accommodation, after the expedient (called *Sententia 4. Theol. Brit.*) for reconciliation, and the elegant Latine sermon for peace, he retired first to my lord embassador Carltons at the Hague, and with his majesties leave returned into England.

In his room was substituted Dr. Thomas Goad. This synod was assembled to examine and determine the doctrine of *Arminius*. I. Concerning  
God's



God's predestination, election, and reprobation. 2. Concerning Christ's death, and man's redemption by it. 3. Concerning man's corruption, and conversion to God. 4. Concerning the perseverance of the saints. In all which points the doctrine of *Arminius* was rejected, as also of *Vorstius*, and the true doctrine by a general consent, received, with the approbation of the Lords the States; which yet the papists made little reckoning of.

But to return to our reverend doctor Hall: he was preferred first dean of Worcester, then bishop of Exeter, then bishop of Norwich, then bishop of no place; for the long parliament in the reign of king Charles the first, intending to down with episcopacy, this pious prelate was one of those charged in the house of lords; and a strong demurrer stopping that proceeding, he was endangered by the rabble, who one night vowed their ruine, hardly escaping, from the house, under the earl of Manchester's protection, having in vain moved both houses for assistance.

These unpunished insolencies caused him and eleven other bishops, to protest against all acts done in the house during that violence; which so incensed the house of commons, that they passed a resolution by vote, to accuse them of high-treason, and sent Mr. Glyn to the lords house, to impeach them thereof; which caused them, January 30, (a fatal day) late in a bitter frosty night, to be sent to the Tower, where they continued about four moneths; during which time he preached in his course with his brethren, and meditated. He heard chearfully of the bonfires and ringing in the city upon their  
imprisonment.



imprisonment: nor was he concerned at the aspersions cast on them here and in forein parts in pamphlets, and other methods; but suffered patiently the dooms prepared for them; pleading resolutely several times at the bar, the pretended allegations brought against them. At last, upon the motion of the earl of Essex, he was admitted to bail by the lords; but upon the motion of the commons (so slippery were the times) sent again to the Tower, yet at length released upon 50000 *l.* bond. From whence he went to Norwich, there being sequestred to his very clothes, he was forced to lay down money for his goods, and for his books. His palace in Norwich was rifled; his temporal estate in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, was confiscated; 400 *l.* per annum, ordered by the houses as each bishop's competency, was by Wilde and Corbet stopped. Nay the very Mayor of Norwich and his brethren, summoned the grave bishop before them, a peremptoriness beyond compare, for ordaining in his chappel contrary to the covenant. And when they allowed him but a fifth part, assessments were demanded for all. These oppressions he bore patiently, being fitted thereunto, as may be seen by his *Treatises of Consolation*. He preached as often as he could be allowed, and gave weekly contributions to distressed widows to his death, giving a good sum to the place where he was born, and the city where he died. His holy admonitions and counsels wrought so effectually even with his very enemies, that some of them repented of their actings; amongst others, one esquire Lucas, a



great commissioner and justice of peace, who, though a man of great estate, received orders at his hands, and recompenced his injuries to the church as committee-man, by being a faithful minister of it afterwards. He may be said to have died with his pen in his hand, whose writing and living expired together. He was commonly called our English *Seneca*, (as sir Henry Wotton terms him in his letter to Dr. Collins) for the pureness, plainness, and fulness of his stile. Not unhappy at controversies, more happy at comments; very good in his characters, better in his sermons, best of all in his meditations. He had preached to two Synods, reconciled six controversies, (for which he had letters of thanks from foreigners of all sides) served two princes, and as many kings, sate in three parliaments, kept the pulpit for fifty three years, managed one deanry, and two bishopricks, written forty six excellent treatises, seen his and the churches enemies made as odious at last as popular at first. After many holy prayers, exhortations, and discourses, he exchanged this troublesome life for the joys of Heaven, September 8, 1656. Nor will it be amiss to transcribe this following passage out of his will.

“ In the name of God, *Amen*. I Joseph Hall, D. D. not worthy to be called bishop of Norwich, &c. First, I do bequeath my soul, &c. My body I leave to be interred without any funeral-pomp, at the discretion of my executors, with this onely monition, that I do not hold God's house a meet repository for the dead bodies of the greatest saints.

He was decently buried at Hyhem near Norwich.

*Obser-*



*Observations on the Life of James  
Usher, Archbishop of Armagh.*

**T**H E country of Ireland hath from old brought forth so many pious and learned men, that several writers have termed it, *The Land of Saints*. Amongst the rest, this worthy prelate is not the least ornament unto that nation; one who was a person of great piety, of singular judgment, learned to a miracle; so excelling in knowledge, both humane and divine, that I cannot write so high of his worth, as his merits raised themselves above all expression.

He was born at Dublin, in the year of our redemption, 1580, extracted from honest and able parents; his father was one of the clerks of the Chancery, a man of excellent parts and endowments. His mother of the family of the Stanihursts, sufficiently famous in Richard Stanihurst, Ireland's Cambden, the most eminent philosopher of his time. This his good, though seduced mother, through subtilty of the popish priests, was drawn into the Romish perswasion; and notwithstanding great means was used for the reclaiming her, yet continued she therein to the day of her death. His grandfather by his mother's side was chosen three times speaker of the house of commons in Parliament in Ireland. His uncle by his father's side was one of his predecessors archbishop of Armagh. And as he



was thus nobly descended, so he was as well educated; being at eight years old sent to the grammar-school, sir James Fullerton being his schoolmaster, and sir James Hamilton (afterwards lord viscount Clandeboise) usher to the school, who were by king James sent out of Scotland upon another design, but disguised themselves under that employment. Under these two he so profited, that in four years time he excelled in grammar, rhetorick and poesie; and was so affected with chronology and antiquity, that in his early years he drew out an exact *Series of Times* when each eminent person lived.

The next year, being the thirteenth of his age, he was admitted into the colledge of Dublin, being the first scholar that was entred into it: and truly it is a question whether the colledge received more honour thereby, in having so learned a man recorded in the frontispiece of their admission-book; or he from the colledge, in honouring him to be their first graduate, fellow, proctor, &c. At the same time also sir James Hamilton, hitherto usher of the school, was chosen fellow of the colledge, and so became his tutour, under whom he attained to a perfection in the Greek and Hebrew languages, which he wanted when he came to the colledge.

He thus increasing in knowledge as in years, looked full further, as he did account all knowledge vain which tended not to the establishment of his minde, and to the good of his future estate. For the furtherance of this atchivement, he read many books, amongst others that of Stapleton's *Fortress of the Faith*, wherein he  
 blot-



blotteth our church with novelty, in dissenting from them, who from all antiquity had maintained the same faith. This plunged our great scholar into several doubts, that the ancientest must needs be the best, as the nearer the fountain the purer the streams; and the errors were received in succeeding ages, according to that known speech of Tertullian, *Verum quodcunque primum, adulterum quodcunque posterius*. For the rectifying of his judgement herein, with indefatigable pains and industry he read over most of the ancient fathers, and most authors writing of the body of divinity; whereby he not only settled his opinion, but also became able to dispute with the prime of the adverse party.

Having taken the formality of batchelor of arts, Anno 1598, the earl of Essex being sent over lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and chancellor of the University of Dublin, there was a solemn act for his entertainment, wherein Mr. Usher answered the *Philosophy Act* with great applause.

And now his father intended to send him over into England, to the Inns of Court, for the study of the common law; but God, who intended him for a labourer in his own vineyard, prevented his intentions by death, leaving his son a good estate in land; but he fearing it might be an hindrance to his studies, gave a great part of the estate to his brothers and sisters: and devoting himself wholly to the study of divinity, was chosen *Fellow* of the colledge; soon after he commenced *Master of Arts*; about which time he disputed with Henry Fitz-Symonds the jesuit, who gave him great commendations for his



abilities ; and said, *That of those which were not Catholiques, he was one of the most Learned.*

Soon after was he chosen catechist of the college, and immediately after (notwithstanding he was not twenty one years of age) he was ordained *Minister*, and afterwards proved mighty powerful in his preaching, converting many papists to the protestant religion ; who came so constantly to hear him, and so admired his doctrine, that it was well hoped the nation would be *of one heart and one minde* ; but through the connivance of some in authority, the statutes made against papists were suspended, and they obtained little less than a toleration in their religion ; which caused many of them to withdraw themselves again. This pious bishop entertaining an holy indignation thereat, preached a sermon to the state at Christ-Church in Dublin, taking for his text this passage in *Ezekiel, Chap. 4. 6.* where the prophet *by lying on his side was to bear the iniquitie of Judah fortie days. I have appointed thee a day for a year, even a day for a year,* (as the old translation of that Bible he then used reads it) making this application thereof : *From this year will I reckon the sin of Ireland, that those whom you now embrace shall be your ruine, and you shall bear this iniquitie.* Now this passage of the prophet doth by consent of interpreters signifie the time of forty years to the destruction of Jerusalem and that nation for their idolatry ; and this sermon being preached in Anno 1601, just forty years before that horrible rebellion brake forth in Ireland, Anno 1641, made it appear that it had something in it of a prophetick spirit.

His



His first church-preferment was to the chancellourship of St. Patrick in Dublin, in which Mr. Cambden found him, Anno 1607, at what time he was composing his most excellent *Britania*, of whom he gives this character in his observations concerning Dublin: *Most of which I acknowledge to owe to the diligence and labour of James Usher, Chancellour of the Church of St. Patrick, who in various learning and judgment far exceeds his years.* Soon after Mr. Cambden's departure, he commenc'd *Bachelior of Divinity*, and immediately upon it was chosen professor of divinity in that University of Dublin, which he held about thirteen or fourteen years; during which time the provostship of the Colledge falling void, he was unanimously elected by the fellows; but by reason of some trouble belonging to it (notwithstanding it had a large annual allowance) he refused it: a thing to be taken notice of, because rare amongst the clergymen of this latter age.

Soon after he proceeded *Doctor of Divinitie*; and now his eminency gained him enemies, who scandalized him to king James, under the notion of a puritan: but what was intended for his downfal, proved for his preferment; for the king entring into a free discourse with him, received from him such abundant satisfaction of the soundness of his judgment and piety, that notwithstanding the opposition of great ones, without his seeking, he made him bishop of Meath in Ireland, just then falling void whilst he was in England. Upon his entring into his dignity, a wit of those times made this excellent anagram upon him.



*James Meath,  
Anagramma,  
I am the same.*

Which he made good after in the whole course of his life, neither being puffed up with the windy titles of ambition, nor slackening his former constancy of preaching; engraving this motto on his episcopal seal, \* *Væ mihi si non Evangelizavero*, which he continued in the seal of his primacy also. It is credibly reported of him, that he was a person of so excellent a memory, that when he hath bin distant from his library many miles, without the aid of any catalogue, he hath directed his man by the figures of them imprinted in his minde, to go directly to the several places where they stood, to bring him such books as he wanted,

During the time he was bishop of Meath, he answered that *Challenge of the Jesuite Malone*; and coming over into England to have it printed, during his abode here, primate Hampton dying, he was made primate of Ireland, Anno 1624. And now though he was promoted to the highest step his profession was capable of in his native country, yet having some occasion of stay still in England, he continued his laborious preaching in a little village called Wicken in Essex; where, upon the request of some ministers of that county to preach on the week-days, (because they could not come to hear him on the Sundays) preaching too often beyond his strength, he fell into a quartane ague, which held him three quarters of a year.

Scarcely

\* Wo is unto me, if I preach not the Gospel.



Scarcely had he recovered his sickness, when it pleased God to make him the instrument of the conversion of an honourable person to the protestant religion, the occasion thus: the lord Mordant (afterwards earl of Peterborough) being a papist, and his lady a protestant; both of them being desirous to draw each other to their own religion, agreed that there should be a meeting of two prime men of each, to dispute what might be in controversie between them: hereupon the lord chose for his champion, one Rookwood a jesuite, (brother to Ambrose Rookwood one of the conspirators in the gunpowder-treason) who went disguised under the name of Beaumont: the lady made choice of this archbishop: Drayton in Northampton-shire was appointed for their meeting place: the points proposed were concerning *Transubstantiation, Invocation of Saints, Images, visibility of the Church.* Three days were spent in disputations, wherein the archbishop was opponent, and the jesuit respondent. The fourth day according to agreement the jesuite was to have been opponent; but that morning he excused himself to the lord Mordant, saying, *That all the Arguments he had used, he had framed within his own head, and thought he had them as perfect as his Pater Noster, but he had strangely forgotten, and could not recover them again;* which caused him to say, *That he believed it was the just judgement of God upon him, thus to desert him in the defence of his cause, for the undertaking of himself to dispute with a man of that eminency and learning, without the Licence of his Superiour.* This excuse gave so little satisfaction to the lord Mordant,



Mordant, that upon some further conference with the archbishop, he became a protestant, and so continued to his dying day. After this victory over the jesuit, with the cannon-bullets of his controversial pen, he disperst whole armies of the Irish catholicks, so that they were never able to rally their forces again.

After some time of tarry in England, he returned into Ireland, where he was received with great acclamations of joy: where he continued faithfully discharging his office, untill the year before the rebellion brake forth there, in which he returned into England; not long after, was the great business of the earl of Strafford in agitation. I have heard it reported by men not over-credulous to believe flying news, that the day before the king signed the bill for that earl's death, when the king for the satisfying of his conscience desired the opinion of him, as also of the bishops of London, Durham, Lincoln, and Carlisle; that those other four, for the satisfying of the people, (who were then grown extraordinary insolent) wished him to sign the bill; but that this bishop advised the king not to wound his conscience, in seeking to heal state-sores. The truth of this I will not assert: for it is confidently believed by many, that Dr. Juxon bishop of London was not assenting thereto; but this is certain, that when a person of honour had in the kings presence spoken words in effect that this bishop should advise him to the signing of that bill, that he in a very great passion, (laying his hand upon his breast) protested his innocency therein. It is generally reported, how true I know not, that when the king heard that  
an



an honourable lady had extended her nobleness to the bishop, that he should say, *That that Charitie of hers would cover a multitude of her sins.*

Many endeavours, not like the fire-drakes of our late pulpits, did this reverend bishop use to draw the king and parliament to a reconciliation; and so faithfully discharged he his endeavours, that he won the love of both sides. Thus after he had holily and peaceably for many years, to the honour of God, and the edification of his church, continued to the time of his death constantly preaching the word of God; he in the seventy sixth year of his age surrendered up his soul into the hands of his maker; his memory being as a precious oyntment, yielding a sweet favour in the nostrils of Gods Saints: which gave occasion to one of our late poets, amongst many others, to write these two verses.

*Usher remains sustain'd by the blest Powers,  
A Saint in Heavens bright Orb, a Star in ours.*

He deceased the 21, of March, 1655, and was honourably buried in Henry the sevenths chappel at the abbey in Westminster. Oliver then lord protectour, dispending two hundred pounds at his funeral; extending to his the grant of some of the lands of the primacy of Armagh for twenty-one years.

I shall shut up all with this character, given him by a solemn order in the convocation at Oxford, Anno 1644. James Usher *Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland: The most skilful of Primitive Antiquitie, the unanswerable Defender*



*Defender of the Orthodox Religion, the Maul of Errours; in Preaching frequent, eloquent, very powerful; a rare example of an unblameable life.*

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*Observations on the Life of Dr.  
Samuel Collins, Provost of  
Kings-Colledge in Cambridge.*

**T**HIS learned doctor, the glory of our English nation for the latine and greek languages, was born at Eaton in Buckinghamshire, August 5, 1570, (which day was very observable unto him in many passages of his life) and from this place of his birth, he stileth himself in many of his books *Ætonensis*. He was son to Baldwin Collins, a pious and painful preacher, prodigiously bountiful to the poor, whom queen Elizabeth constantly called father Collins. His pregnancy in learning was admirable, though under a severe school-master, who used to have some leading boyes in each form, to draw on the rest: an admirable way of teaching children, and worthy to be imitated. From Eaton he was sent to Kings-Colledge in Cambridge, where he was successively chosen Fellow, Provost, and Regius Professor. When he was chosen fellow by Dr. Roger Goad, the Dr. clapping his hand on his head, said, *This Child if he lives shall be my Heir and Successor*; which proved accordingly.



He had a natural eloquence and facetiousness, symbolizing with, and so more tenacious of any elegancy he ever met with, in any poet or orator; especially, in his beloved Ovid and Pindar, Tully or Isocrates, and the modern Ciceronians, as Longolius, Bembus, Politian, &c. Some pieces of whom he read yearly to his dying day, giving this reason for it to the young men, whom he advised to do the like, *Iisdem nutrimur, ex quibus constamus*; those Authors enlarge and quicken our parts, that first moulded and formed them; and a decaying soul, like a decaying body, should go to its native air, and congenial author, to recover its self.

He constantly read his lectures twice a week, for above forty years, giving notice of the time to his auditors in a ticket on the school-doors, wherein never any two alike, without some considerable difference, in the critical language thereof.

He deserved very well of the church, as may appear by his excellent discourse against the papists, and his accurate sermons, 1608, at St. Pauls about the non-conformists, upon 1 *Tim.* 6. 3, 4, 5, of the former of whom he converted seven, and of the latter sixteen. Yet were not his sermons so much applauded by the dull vulgar; and therefore memorable to this purpose is that well-known story of his, *viz.* He being minister of Cottenham, a town some miles off from Cambridge, he used to preach there often himself; where he framed his preaching according to the capacity of his auditory, in a plain,



plain, easy, understanding way: but it seems a curate which he kept there under him, used to tickle their ears with now and then a sentence of latine and greek, which though they understood not a word of it, yet made them applaud the curate for an able scholar above the doctor. This being made known unto him, in his next sermon there, almost half thereof was greek, which he told them he should not need to translate, they being so understanding, and this only a piece of Chrysostom.

And this Cottenham perhaps might be the living, of which a gentleman once told me the story, how the doctor going to the bishop to have it conferred on him, the bishop at his going being a little busie, one of his chaplains undertook to examine the doctor; telling him, that that being a good benefice, was not to be bestowed but on a man of parts, and therefore asked him this question, *Quid est Fides?* to which the doctor replied, *Credere quod non vides*; and still as the chaplain went on with his questions, the doctor answered him in latine rime: which made him in some fume to go to the bishop, and tell him, there was one which was come about such a benefice, but he took him to be an odde conceited person, for what ever he asked him, he answered altogether in rime. The bishop going to see who it was, saluting him very kindly, and calling him by his name; the chaplain who had heard of his extraordinary parts, but knew not his person, half ashamed of himself, that he should with Phormio read a military lecture to Alexander, did by his blushing acknowledge his fault.

Indeed



Indeed this doctor, though very grave and reserved, yet at other times was as much facetious, being parallel herein to Dr. Matthew Griffith, minister of Mauldins, Fish-street in London, who in his sermon told the citizens, that they sent in their bodkins, thimbles, &c. to furnish out the cause, as the children of Israel did their ear-rings and jewels; only these had a calf for theirs, whereas they were likely to have a bull for theirs: even so did Dr. Collins, when some phanaticks of the town came to him to ask his leave to ring the bells for joy of a great victory obtained by the parliament, the doctor knowing if he refused, they would do it whether he would or no, having asked them whether it were a very great victory? they replying yes, nay then said he, let them have the bells and the ropes two.

He defeated as well as escaped the arguments brought against him, not only putting by the thrust, but breaking the weapon; knowing well otherwise, that though he might shut the opponents mouth, he might open the difficulty the wider in the hearts of the hearers; but he either fairly resolved the doubt, or shewed the falseness of the argument, by beggering the opponent to maintain such a fruitful generation of absurdities as his argument had begotten; or lastly, retorts it back upon him again. The first way unties the knot, the second cuts it asunder, and the third whips the opponent with the knot himself tied. He commended a clear answerer above a cunning opposer, because the latter takes advantage of mans ignorance, which is ten times more than his knowledge.

His



His three spurs of vertue, were Satyr, Sarcasm, or Irony and Panegyrick; by the two first shaming the ill inclined, and by the last encouraging the well-disposed.

Some courtier either displeased with his person, or envious of his parts, would have done him the injurious courtesy to prefer him downwards (as in point of profit) to the bishoprick of Bristol: to avoy'd which, he improved all his friends to decline his election; and indeed, in no place could he be more serviceable to God and his soverain than in that station wherein he was seated, being very instrumental in sending much of the colledge-plate to the king in his distrefs, well-knowing how open it there lay to sacrilegious hands, who more minded the goods than the good of the University. For this, as also for refusing to take the covenant (two grievous crimes of loyalty) he was outed of his church-preferments, and Provost-ship, yet kept he his Chair, those troublesome times affording more Preachers than Professors; and in this loyal integrity did he persevere unto the day of his death, which happened about the year of our Lord 1651, having before (in respect of the danger of loyalty) settled his estate in some trustees for the good of his son esquire Collins, a most accomplished gentleman; though not without some difficulty and expence regained by him; so hard a matter it is to finde a friend wherein one may confide.



## *Observations on the Life of Dr.* *John Hewyt.*

**T**HIS reverend doctor, our English *Chrystome*, was a Norfolk-man by extraction, and a Cambridge-man by education. His birth was gentile, which he carried always in his behaviour; of a winning carriage, voluble utterance, handsome personage, and above all, of a pious and Godly conversation. Having attained to a good degree of learning in Cambridge, he came to London, where in those days young men learned to be preachers; although this our doctor might be said to be old in experience, though young in years. There he profited greatly, being so sweet his voyce, and so comely his presence and behaviour, that as many came to hear him read prayers then, as afterwards flocked to hear him preach. So devout, grave, and distinct his pronounciation, that it is probable the prayers of the church had never been turned out of it, if *Moses* had been so preached, that is, edifyingly read in our churches; those persons maintaining the more worth of *Common-Prayer* in their arguments, who do not undervalue it in their administration. His excellent endowments, rare qualifications; his civility and good carriage, preferred him to a relation of the earl of Lindsey as chaplain, and to his vertuous sister as husband; (who after the murther of the doctor, was married

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ried to fir Abraham Shipman, an active gentleman for his majesty during the wars, especially at Colchester, for which he suffered severely, and was cast away in a place in the Indies, he went to possess for his majesty.) With this vertuous lady he lived very contentedly, though by the badness of the times he went thorow the blackest adversity, guilding it with that serenity of temper, which others want in their brightest prosperity. His divinely eloquent preaching gained him great applause, as that applause did great envy, especially from the protector, who look't askue upon those, who were endued by parts not actuated by his principles. And therefore to cut off all such persons, new plots and accusations were set on foot; to actuate which, Oliver had his emissaries ready on all occasions; and therefore to this purpose a plot is now set on foot, discover'd by those who made it, wherein (as was said) several regiments was enroled, who on the first day of May, this being discovered March 24, (the last day of the year accounted for) 1657, should in the night-time have set fire on several parts of the city, and whilest the confusion and horreur thereof had seized all men, they should have made a general massacre of all who opposed them. Hereupon several persons were apprehended, as Dr. Hewyt, fir Henry Slingsby, col. Ashton, &c. Against Dr. Hewyt it was alledged, how he should entertain the marques of Ormond, that he had been at Bruges with the king, and had brought orders from him; and how he had a hand to have fired the city of London, (to make him odious in that place



place where he was so popular.) The *Usurper* did not so much examine, as revile him, discovering his own spleen, rather than the good doctors designe; telling him among many other approbious imputations, that *he was in the City as a Torch set in the midst of a Sheaf of Corn*, and when he was sentenced by the blood-hounds for denying their authority, and illegal and arbitrary way of proceeding, alleadging against them the known law of the land in the best authorities and presidents; no intercession of the tyrants own dearest daughter Cleypole, (who immediately upon it fell mad, and before her death told him such bloudy things as hastened his) could prevail for his life. No, nor of those very ministers who were suspected out of emulation to irritate him to thirst after his innocent blood, and therefore for shame beseeched him to save it. But June 8, 1658, he was brought upon the stage to take his last leave of this troublesome world, in the company of Dr. Wild, Dr. Warmestry, and Dr. Berwick, *To bear witness to the truth*. In this warfare the doctor put on the spiritual armour of a blessed confidence, delivering his minde to the people in these following words.

“I am now become a publick spectacle to men and angels, and (I hope) God who is omniscient, is now beholding me with much pittie, and great mercy and compassion; and the more, because I am now come to that end that his own son came into the world to, to bear witness to the truth; he himself said,” for this end was I born, for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness to the truth: “I was brought into the world, (the christian world) for



to bear witness to the truth of the gospel, as a common christian; I was brought into the world (the church) as a minister of his blessed word and sacraments; [blessed be his name for that great honour and dignity] and I came into the world to die more immediately for the testimony of Jesus, which God hath now called me to. I came into this world (this common-wealth) to be a member thereof, to bear witness to the truths of the customes, the laws, the liberties, and priviledges thereof: so I am a member of the common-wealth. And me thinks it seems to me a strange thing, that in as much as we all plead for liberty and priviledges, and I pleading for the priviledges, the laws, the statutes, and the customes of this land, yet I should die by those that should stand for the laws, the statutes, and priviledges of the land. And I am here beheld by those that plead for their liberties, and I hope I am pittied, because I here give up my self willingly and freely to be a state-martyr for the publick good; and I had rather die many deaths my self, than betray my fellow-freemen to so many inconveniences that they might be like to suffer, by being subject to the wills of them that willed me to this death."

And then speaking how hardly he was dealt withal, and being ignorant of the formalities of the law; he proceeded: "It is fit I should give you somewhat as concerning my self, as I am a christian, and as I am a clergy-man: first, as I am a christian, I thank God I was baptized to be a member of the holy catholique church, that is the church of England, which I dare say  
for



for purity of doctrine, and orderly discipline, till a sad reformation had spoiled the face of the church, and made it a query whether it were a church or no; I say, it was more purely divine and apostolical, than any other doctrine or church in the christian world; whether national, or classical, or congregational. And I must tell you, that as I am a member of this church, so I am a member of the holy catholique church, and shall give a most just confession of my faith both negatively, and affirmatively: negatively, I am so a member of the holy catholique church, that I abhor all sects, schisms, sedition, and tyranny in religion. Affirmatively so, that as I hold communion with, so I love and honour all christians in the world that love the same Lord Jesus in sincerity, and call on his name, agreeing with those truths that are absolutely necessary, and clearly demonstrated in the word of God, both in the old and new testaments; though in charity dissenting from some others that are not necessary: and I, as I am thus a christian, I hope for salvation through the merits of Christ Jesus; his blood I rely on, his merits I trust to for the salvation of my soul. Though to this faith good works are necessary, not meritorious in us, but onely made meritorious by Christ his death; by his all-sufficiency, by his satisfaction, and his righteousness, they become meritorious, but in us they are no other than as defiled rags. And truly as I am a member of this community, and so pleaded for the liberties and priviledges thereof, I must now answer something I am aspersed withal in this world.

They talk something of a plot, and a treasonable designe, and that I had a great interest in



the knowledge and practice thereof, and that for the saving of my life I would have discovered and betrayed I cannot tell what: I hope my conversation hath not been such here in this city, where I have been a long time very well known, as to make one imagine I should intermeddle in such an action, and go so contrary to the practice of my profession; and I hope there are none so uncharitable towards me, as to believe I had a knowledge of that designe.

Here I must come to particulars for a plot: of having a designe upon the city of London for the firing of it, I so much tremble at the thought of the thing, that should have been done, as they say, for the carrying on of such a design, (if my heart deceive me not) had I known it, I so much abhor the thing, I should have been the first discoverer of it: nor ever had I correspondence or meeting with such persons as would have carried on such a design. It is said likewise, I entertained the marquess of Ormond; to my remembrance I never saw the face of that honourable person in my life. It is said, one Lord's day I did preach at St. Gregories, and the next Lord's day I was at Brussels or Bruges, and kist the king's hand, and brought I cannot tell what orders and instructions from him: this I shall say, for these three years last past together, I have not been sixty miles from this city of London, and I think it is somewhat further to either of these places than threescore miles. It is said, that I kept correspondence with one Barrow and Bishop: they are persons I have heard of their names, but never saw their faces, and to my knowledge I do not know they know me, nor do I know them at all, but  
onely



onely as I have heard their names. And whosoever else hath suggested such things against me, I know not.

His Highness was pleased to tell me, I was like a flameing torch in the midst of a sheaf of corn : he meaning, I being a publick preacher, was able to set the city on fire by sedition and combustions, and promoting designs. Here truly I do say, and have it from many of those that are judges of the High-court, that upon examination of the busines, they have not found me a medler at all in these affairs. And truly I must needs say therefore, that it was a very uncharitable act in them (who ever they were) that brought such accusations against me, and irritated his Highness against me. I will not say it was malice, it might be zeal, but it was rash zeal which caused me to be sentenced to this place; the God of mercy pardon and forgive them all; and truly as I am a member of the church, and as a member of the community whereon I have been speaking, I cannot but do as our Saviour himself did for his disciples when he was to be taken from them, he blessed them, and ascended up to Heaven. My trust is in the mercy of the most high, I shall not miscarry; and however my days are shortened by this unexpected doom, and shall be brought untimely to the grave, I cannot go without my prayers for a blessing upon all the people of this land, and cannot but bless them all in the name of God, and beseech God to bless them all in their ways, and his blessing be upon them."

Having thus ended his speech, he prayed devoutly for a good space; in which prayer, to



shew the loyalty of his soul to the royal cause, take this part of it.—“O Lord bless us all, and bless him the posterity—which in authority ought to rule over, and be above us: bless him in his soul, and in his body, in his friends, and in his servants, and all his relations: guide him by thy counsel, prosper him in all undertakings, granting him a long, prosperous, and honourable life here upon earth, and that he may attain to a blessed life hereafter, &c.”

His speech and prayer ended, with much meekness and spiritual consolation, he submitted his neck to the stroak of the ax, to as great a loss of the church of Christ, and of all good men, as hath happened in our times.

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### *Observations on the Life of Mr. John Cleaveland.*

**T**HIS eminent person, the wit of our age, was born at Hinckley, a small market-town in the county of Leicester, where his father was the reverend and learned minister of the place and bred therein under Mr. Richard Vines, his school-master, where he attained to a great perfection in learning, by choicest elegancies in Greek and Latine, more elegantly English, so that he may be said to have lisped wit, like an English *Bard*, and perfected early ripe for the University.

From



From a loving father and learned school-master, he was sent to Christ-Colledge in Cambridge, where he proved such an exquisite orator, and pure latinist, as preferred him to a fellowship in St. John's. There he lived about the space of nine years, the delight and ornament of that society. What service, as well as reputation he did it, let his orations and epistles speak; to which the library oweth much of its learning, the chappel much of its pious decency, and the colledge much of its renown.

He was (saith a learned doctor) a general artist, pure latinist, exquisite orator, and (which was his master piece) eminent poet. His epithetes were pregnant with metaphors, carrying in them a difficult plainness, difficult at the hearing, plain at the considering thereof. His lofty fancy may seem to stride from the top of one mountain to the top of another, so making to it self a constant level and champion of continued elevations.

These his eminent parts preferred him to be rhetorick-reader, which he performed with great applause; and indeed, what was it in which he did not excel? this alone may suffice for his honour, that after the oration which he addressed to that incomparable prince of blessed memory, Charles the first, the king called for him, gave him his hand to kifs, and (with great expressions of kindness) commanded a copy to be sent after him, whither he was hastening that night.

Such who have *Cleavelandized*, as we may term it, that is, endeavoured to imitate his masculine stile, yet could never go beyond the *Hermaphrodite*, which though inserted into Mr. Randolph's poems



poems, (one of a fluent genuine fancy) yet is well known to be Mr. Cleaveland's, it being not onely made after Mr. Randolph's death, but hath in it the very *Veine* and *Strain* of Mr. Cleaveland's writing, walking from one height to another, in a constant level and champion of continued elevation. And indeed, so elaborate are all his other pieces of poetry, as to praise one, were to detract from the rest; and are not to be the less valued by the reader, because most studied by the writer.

Thus he shined with equal light and influence, until that great defection of loyalty over-spread the land, and rebellion began to unvizard it self, of which no man had more sagacious prognosticks. When Oliver was in election to be burges for the town of Cambridge, as he engaged all his friends and interests to oppose it, so when it was passed, he said with much passionate zeal, *That single Vote had ruined both Church and Kingdom.* Such fatal events did he presage from his bloody beak. For no sooner did that *Harpy* appear in the University, but he made good what was predicted of him, and he amongst others that were outed for their loyalty, was turned out of his fellowship of St. John's; whereupon he betook himself to the camp of his soveraign, and particularly to Oxford the head-quarter of it, as the most proper and proportionate sphere for his wit, learning, and loyalty; and added no small lustre to that which that famous University shined before. Here he managed his pen as the highest panegyrist (witness his *Rupertismus*, his elegy on my lord of Canterbury,



bury, &c.) on the one side to draw out all good inclinations to vertue: and the smartest satyrift, (witness the *Rebel Scot*, the *Scots Apostacy*, which he profecuted with fuch a fatyrical fury, that the whole nation fares the worfe for it, lying under a moft grievous poetical cenfure. Such were alfo his character of a London diurnal, and a committee-man, blows that fhaked triumphing rebellion, reaching the foul of thofe not to be reached by law or power, ftriking each traytor to a palenefs beyond that of any loyal corps that bled by them; fuch characters being as indelible as guilt-ftabs, beyond death.

From Oxford, his next ftage was the garifon of Newark, where he was judge advocate until the furrender; and by an excellent temperature of both, was a juft and prudent judge for the king, and a faithful advocate for the country. Here he drew up that excellent anfwer and rejoinder to a parliament-officer, who had fent him a letter by occafion of one Hill, that had deferted their fide, and brought with him to Newark the fum of 133 *l.* and 8 *d.* I fhall not particularize the papers, being printed with his works, and worthy the reading of all that are friends to ingenuity. This place was maintained with much gallantry and refolution againft the befiegers, and not furrendred but by the king's fpecial command, when firft he had furrendred himfelf into the hands of the Scots; in which action of that royal martyr, we may conclude him *Vates*, both poet and prophet; for befide his paffionate refentment of it in that excellent poem, *The King's Disguife*; upon fome private intelligence, three days before the king reached them



them, he foresaw the pieces of silver paying upon the banks of Tweed, and that they were the price of his sovereign's blood, and predicted the tragical events.

Thenceforth he followed the fate of distressed loyalty, subject to the malice and revenge of every fanatick spirit, which seldom terminates but in a goal, which befel this learned person, being long imprisoned at Yarmouth: and having small hopes of coming out, he composed an address to the pageant-power at White-hall, of so much gallant reason, and such towering language, as looked bigger than his Highness, shrinking before the majesty of his pen, as *Felix* trembled before *Paul*. So obtaining his liberty, not by a servile submission, but rather a constrained violence, neither injuring his conscience, nor betraying his cause.

And now being at liberty he was courted to several places, (which contended as emulously for his abode, as the seven cities for Homer's birth) at last he settled in Grays-Inn, which when he had ennobled with some short time of his residence, an intermitting fever seized him, whereof he died, on Thursday morning, April the 29, 1658, from whence his body was brought to Hunsden-house, and on Saturday being May-day, was buried at Colledge-hill-church; his good friend Dr. John Pearson (afterwards lord bishop of Chester) preached his funeral sermon, who rendered this reason why he cautiously declined all commending of the party deceased, because such praising of him would not be adequate to any expectation in that auditory, seeing



ing some who knew him not would think it far above him, while those who knew him must needs know it far below him.

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*Observations on the Life of Judge*  
David Jenkins.

**T**HIS reverend judge, the thunderbolt of the law to strike at rebellion, was brought up at Grays-Inn near London, wherein he continued a student upwards of 58 years. Of so pregnant a capacity, that when a young man, my lord Bacon would make use of his collections in several cases, digesting them himself; a great argument of his abilities, when such a knowing person would daign to be led by the clue of his direction. Nor was his judgment afterwards less relied on by attorney Noy, Herbert, and Banks, who would send the several cases they were to prosecute for his majesty, to be perused by him, before they were to be produced in court. Yet notwithstanding his excellent parts, his highest preferment was to be judge of South-Wales, which yet he never sought after, nor paid for the patent, being sent him without his knowledge, and confirmed to him without his charge; in which place he behaved himself so well betwixt soveraign and subject, that envy it self could not tax him of injustice.

During all the time of the war betwixt the king and his rebellious subjects, he adhered very cordi-



cordially to his majesty ; until at the last he was taken prisoner at the surprize of Hereford, and carried first to the Chancery, secondly to the King's-Bench, and at last to the bar of their house ; the authority of all which places he denied. . But to make the case more clear and open, we shall give it you in his own words, written by himself, April the 29, 1647.

“ I was convened upon Saturday the 10 of this month of April, before a committee of the house of commons, wherein Mr. Corbet had the chair ; and I was there to be examined upon some questions then to be propounded to me ; to which questions I refused to give any other answer than that which was set down in a paper I then delivered to the said Mr. Corbet. Which followeth in these words.

“ Gentlemen, I stand committed by the house  
 “ of commons for high-treason, for not ac-  
 “ knowledging nor obeying the power of the  
 “ two houses, by adhering to the king in this  
 “ war. I deny this to be treason ; for the su-  
 “ pream and onely power by the laws of the  
 “ land is in the king. If I should submit to  
 “ any examination derived from your power,  
 “ which by the negative oath stands in opposi-  
 “ tion to the king's power, I should confess  
 “ the power to be in you, and so condemn my  
 “ self for a traytor ; which I neither ought nor  
 “ will do.

“ I am sworn to obey the king, and the laws  
 “ of this land : you have not power to examine  
 “ me by those laws, but by the king's writ, pa-  
 “ tent, or commission ; if you can produce  
 “ either thereof, I will answer the questions you  
 shall



“ shall propound ; otherwise I cannot answer  
 “ thereto, without the breach of my oath, which  
 “ I will not do to save my life.

“ You your selves, all of you this parliament,  
 “ have sworn that the king is our onely and su-  
 “ preame governor ; your protestation, your  
 “ vow and covenant, your solemn league and  
 “ covenant, your declarations, all of them pub-  
 “ lished to the kingdom, that your scope is the  
 “ maintenance of the laws ; those laws are and  
 “ must be derived to us, and enlivened by the  
 “ only supreme governor, the fountain of justice,  
 “ and the life of the law, the king. The par-  
 “ liaments are called by his writs ; the judges  
 “ sit by his patents, so of all other officers ;  
 “ the cities and towns corporate, govern by the  
 “ king’s charters ; and therefore since by the  
 “ law I cannot be examined by you, without a  
 “ power derived by his majesty, I neither can,  
 “ nor will, nor ought you to examine me upon  
 “ any questions. But if as private gentlemen,  
 “ you shall be pleased to ask me any questions,  
 “ I shall really and truly answer every such que-  
 “ stion as you shall demand.

David Jenkins.”

And now though in durance, he was still sol-  
 licitous for the advancement of his majesties inte-  
 rest ; and to this end he set forth divers treatises  
 to undeceive the people, and to vindicate the  
 king’s party and cause ; which argued a coura-  
 gious loyalty in him, that when rebellion was  
 rampant, and nought practised but treason, yet  
 durst vindicate law and reason, which about that  
 time he published in these following maximes.

‘ No



‘ No person who hath committed treason,  
 ‘ murder, or felony, hath any assurance at all  
 ‘ for so much as one hour of life, lands or goods,  
 ‘ without the king’s gracious pardon, 27 Hen.  
 ‘ 8 Cap. 24.

‘ The king is not virtually in the two houses  
 ‘ at Westminster, whereby they may give any as-  
 ‘ surance at all to any person, in any thing, for  
 ‘ any such offence.

1. ‘ The house of commons hath declared to  
 ‘ the kingdom, in their declaration of the 28 of  
 ‘ November last to the Scots papers, p. 8. *That*  
 ‘ *the King at this time is not in a condition to*  
 ‘ *Govern.* No person or thing can derive a ver-  
 ‘ tue to other men, or things, which it self hath  
 ‘ not, and therefore it is impossible they should  
 ‘ have a vertue from the king to govern, which  
 ‘ they declare he hath not himself to give.

2. ‘ The law of the land is, *That no person in*  
 ‘ *any Parliament hath a Voice in the House of*  
 ‘ *Commons, but that he stands a person to all in-*  
 ‘ *tents and purposes as if he had never been elected*  
 ‘ *or returned, if before he sit in the House he take*  
 ‘ *not his Oath upon the Holy Evangelists, that the*  
 ‘ *King’s Majesty is the onely and Supream Governor*  
 ‘ *over all persons in all causes,* 5 Eliz. Cap. 1.  
 ‘ All the members of the said house have taken  
 ‘ it, and at all times as they are returned do take  
 ‘ it; otherwise they have no colour to intermeddle  
 ‘ with the publick affairs. How doth this so-  
 ‘ lemn and legal oath agree with their said decla-  
 ‘ ration, *that the King is in no condition to govern?*  
 ‘ by the one it is sworn, he is the only supream  
 ‘ governor, by the other that he is not in a con-  
 ‘ dition to govern.

3. ‘ The



3. ' The oath is not, that the king was, or  
' ought to be, or had been, before he was se-  
' duced by ill counsel, our only and supreme  
' governour in all causes, over all persons ; but  
' in the present tense, that he is our only and su-  
' preme governour, at this present, in all causes,  
' and over all persons. So they the same per-  
' sons swear one thing, and declare to the king-  
' dom the contrary of the same thing, at the  
' same time, in that which concerneth the weal  
' of all this nation.

4. ' The ministers in the pulpits do not say,  
' what they swear in the house of commons.  
' Who ever heard since this unnatural war, any  
' of their presbyters attribute that to his majesty  
' which they swear ? the reason is, their oath is  
' taken at Westminster amongst themselves: that  
' which their ministers pray and preach, goes  
' among the people. To tell the people that  
' the king is now their only and supreme gover-  
' nour in all causes, is contrary to that the houses  
' do now practice, and to all they act and main-  
' tain. They, the two houses, forsooth, are the  
' only and supreme governours in default of the  
' king, for that he hath left his great counsel,  
' and will not come to them, and yet the king  
' desires to come, but they will not suffer him,  
' but keep him prisoner at Holmeby, so well do  
' their actions and oaths agree.

5. ' They swear now king Charles is their only  
' and supreme governour ; but with a resolution  
' at the time of the oath taking, and before and  
' after, that he shall not be only our supreme  
' governour, or only and supreme, but not any



‘ governour at all : for there is no point of go-  
 ‘ vernment but for some years past they have  
 ‘ taken to themselves, and used his name only  
 ‘ to abuse and deceive the people.

6. ‘ That this vertual power is a meer fiction,  
 ‘ their propositions sent to Oxford, to New-  
 ‘ castle, to be signed by the king, do prove it so;  
 ‘ what needs ado, if they have the vertual power  
 ‘ with them at Westminster?

7. ‘ To affirm that the king’s power (which  
 ‘ is the vertue they talk of) is separable from his  
 ‘ person, is high-treason by the law of the land;  
 ‘ which is so declared by that learned man of the  
 ‘ law, sir Edward Cooke, so much magnified  
 ‘ by this present parliament, who in the seventh  
 ‘ part of his reports, Calvin’s case, Fol. 11,  
 ‘ saith thus: *In the Reign of Edw. 2. the Spen-*  
 ‘ *cers, the Father and Son, to cover the Treason*  
 ‘ *hatched in their Hearts, invented this damnable*  
 ‘ *and damned opinion, that Homage and Oath of*  
 ‘ *Allegiance was more by reason of the King’s*  
 ‘ *Crown, (that is, of his politick capacity) than*  
 ‘ *by reason of the person of the King : upon which*  
 ‘ *opinion they inferred three execrable and detesta-*  
 ‘ *ble consequences.* 1. *If the King do not demean*  
 ‘ *himself by reason in the right of his Crown, his*  
 ‘ *Lieges are bound by Oath to remove the King.*  
 ‘ 2. *Seeing that the King could not be reformed by*  
 ‘ *Suit of Law, that ought to be done per aspertee:*  
 ‘ *that is, by force.* 3. *That his Lieges be bound*  
 ‘ *to Govern in aid of him, and in default of him :*  
 ‘ *All which were condemned by two Parliaments,*  
 ‘ *one in the Reign of Edw. 2. called exilium*  
 ‘ *Hugonis le Spencer ; and the other in Anno 1*  
 ‘ *Edw. 3. Cap. 2.*



And that the natural body and politick  
makes one indivisible body, and that these two  
bodies incorporate in one person make one bo-  
dy, and not divers, is resolved as the law of  
England, 4. Eliz. Plowden Com. fol. 213.  
By sir Robert Catlin, lord chief justice of  
England, sir James Dyer, lord chief justice of  
the common pleas; the lord Sanders, lord  
chief baron of the Exchequer, and by the rest  
of the judges, viz. justice Rastall, justice  
Browne, justice Corbet, justice Weston, baron  
Frenyll, Carve and Pewtrell, sergeants, Gar-  
rard attorney general, Carell attorney of the  
Dutchy: Plowden the learnedest man of that  
age, in the knowledge of the law, and cu-  
stoms of the realm.

8. The law in all ages without any contro-  
versie is and hath been, that *no Act of Parlia-  
ment binds the Subjects of this Land without the  
assent of the King, either for Person, Lands,  
Goods, or fame.* No man can shew any silla-  
ble, letter, or line to the contrary in the books  
of the law, or printed acts of parliament, in  
any age in this land. If the vertual power be  
in the houses, there needs no assent of the  
king's. The stile of the acts printed from 9.  
Hen. 3. to 1. Hen. 7. were either, *The King  
ordains at his Parliament, &c.* Or the king or-  
daineth by the advice of his prelates and ba-  
rons, and at the humble petition of the com-  
mons, &c. In Hen 7. his time the stile al-  
tered, and sithence continued thus: it is or-  
dained by the king's majesty, and the lords  
spiritual and temporal, and commons in this  
present parliament assembled. So that always  
the assent of the king giveth the life to all, as



‘ the soul to the body; and therefore our law.  
 ‘ books call the king, the fountain of justice,  
 ‘ and the life of the law.

9. ‘ Mercy as well as justice belongs by the  
 ‘ law of the land only to the king. This is  
 ‘ confessed by Mr. Pryn, and it is so without  
 ‘ any question: the king can only pardon, and  
 ‘ never more cause to have sufficient pardons  
 ‘ than in such troublesome times as these, and  
 ‘ God send us pardons and peace. None can  
 ‘ give any pardon, but the king by the law of  
 ‘ the land: *the whole and sole power of pardoning*  
 ‘ *Treasons and Felonies belongs to the King*, are  
 ‘ words of the law, and it is a delusion to take  
 ‘ it from any other, and utterly invalid. 27.  
 ‘ Hen. 8. Cap. 24.

10. ‘ Queen Elizabeth summoned her first  
 ‘ parliament, to be held the 23 of Jan. in the  
 ‘ first year of her majesties reign. The lords  
 ‘ and commons assembled by force of the same  
 ‘ writ: the 23 day the queen fell sick and could  
 ‘ not appear in her person in parliament that day,  
 ‘ and therefore prorouged it until the 25 of the  
 ‘ same month of January. *Resolved by all the*  
 ‘ *Judges of England, that the Parliament began*  
 ‘ *not the day of the return of the Writ, viz. the*  
 ‘ *23 of January, when the Lords and Commons*  
 ‘ *appeared, but the 25 of the said month, when*  
 ‘ *the queen came in person.* Which sheweth evi-  
 ‘ dently that this vertual presence is a meer de-  
 ‘ luding fiction, that hath no ground in law,  
 ‘ reason, or sense. They have the king now a  
 ‘ prisoner at Holmeby, with guards upon him,  
 ‘ yet they govern by the vertual power of their pri-



prisoner. These are some few of the causes and reasons which moved me to deliver that paper to Mr. Corbet, which I am ready to justify with my life, and should hold it a great honour to die for the honourable and holy laws of the land. That which will save this land from destruction, is an act of oblivion, and his majesties gracious general pardon, the soldiers their arrears, and every man his own, and truth and peace established in the land, and a favourable regard had to the satisfaction of tender consciences.

April 29, 1647. David Jenkins.

By this may be seen what a stout champion he was for the royal cause, how deeply he struck at the root of rebellion; so that it is thought he did more mischief to the enemies of the *Royal Cause* with his pen, than their best regiment could do with their swords. Once it was designed by the rebels, to have had him and sir Lewis Dives, (an honourable gentleman, well deserving of his majesty) to have been sacrifices for the ghosts of Ashcam and Dorislaus, (the one killed in Holland by colonel Whitford a Scotchman, with some twelve other cavaliers, the other in Spain, by one Sparks assisted by some royalists; both sent agents by the rebels into those countries, soon after the horrid murder of his majesty) but this way of proceeding was so odious to all that had any spark of honesty or religion, that it was left off.

He used his utmost endeavour to set the parliament and army at odds, thereby to promote the king's cause, according to that well known



maxime, *Divide and conquer*, defying them and their threats, spending his time in giving chamber counsel, about conveyances, and writing good books, as *Lex Terræ*, &c. He was kept a long time a close prisoner in the Tower, where wearied of him by his indefatigable industry in the king's cause, he was removed from thence to Windsor, where he continued in the same quality, and of the same mind, till without thanks to them he was permitted the liberty of the town, and consequently his own liberty, living to see the return of his majesty, the restoration of the laws, and the liberty of the subjects restored to them again, in as ample a manner as before. Thus did this good man hazard his life, for that which was the life of his life, his conscience. His great age having given him a *quietus est* from publick employments, he died at his house at Cowbridge, December 6, 1663.

*Observations on the Life of Dr.*  
**Thomas Fuller.**

**T**HIS learned doctor was born at Aldwincle, an obscure town in Northampton-shire, some five miles from Oundle, of which place his father was the reverend minister. His pregnancy in youth was such, that at twelve years of age this hopeful slip was translated to Cambridge, and first settled in Queen's-Colledge, where he successively passed the degrees of batchellour and master



master of arts, and that at such an unusual age, that such a commencement was not within memory.

It happened during his residence here, a fellowship was vacant, for which the doctor became candidate, by the importunity of some of the house; but there being a statute of the Colledge, which admitted not two fellows of the said county of Northampton, he thereupon quitted his pretensions, notwithstanding he might have had a dispensation from the strict limitation of that statute; but not willing to receive advancement from so ill a president, he transferred himself to Sidney-Colledge, where he had not been long, but he was chosen minister of St. Bennets parish in Cambridge, in whose church he offered the *Primitiæ* of his ministerial fruits, which like apples of gold in pictures of silver (sublime divinity in the most ravishing elegancies) attracted the audience of the University; there his great sufficiencies (being not above the age of twenty three years) tendered him at once a prebendaryship of Salisbury, and a fellowship of Sidney-Colledge; but both he could not enjoy, for the prebendaryship being the king's donation, and it being by the statutes of both Universities provided, that no person who shall have ten pound *per annum* in the king's books, shall be capable of a fellowship in either of them; his inbred piety and devotion induced him to leave the University, and betake himself to the priestly function, being thereunto ordained by the right reverend father in God the bishop of Salisbury.



Soon after was the rectory of Broad Winfor in Dorset-shire, conferred on him; during which time of his aboad there, he took the degree of bachelor of divinity in Cambridge, being at his coming thither extraordinarily welcomed and treated by most of the considerable persons of the University, especially of his parishioners of St. Bennets; yet notwithstanding their treatments, he carried it out so splendidly, that his commencement cost him for his own particular, the sum of seven-score pounds, although at that time he was entered into the chargeable estate of a married life, being wedded unto a vertuous young gentlewoman, and by her had born his eldest son; great motives to frugality, but that generous spirits of all vices hate the sordid sin of covetousness.

Here was he for a while free to follow those studies which his genius prompted him to: but being by nature framed for converse and general intelligence, not to be smothered in such an obscurity, the Scotch war also breaking out, which like a cloud threatned unquietness to our nation, but more especially to the clergy; he left that kind of rural life of the country, and betook himself to London, our great metropolis: where he had not been long but he was by the master and brotherhood of the Savoy complemented to accept of the lecturer's place, where he continued to the great satisfaction of the people, and neighbouring nobility and gentry, till our unhappy and unnatural wars had made a dismal progress through the whole nation, and the covenant (that *ignes fatuus* of religion) was generally pressed to be taken; but the good doctor  
could



could not bow down his knee to that *Babel-Berith*; and knowing there was no living where that *Presbyterian-Calf* was not worshiped, he deserted London, and privately conveyed himself to Oxford.

Here preaching before the king at St. Maries, his sermon gave distaste to some high-flying royalists; he resolved therefore strenuously to evince his faithful loyalty to the king by some other way; and being by some honourable friends recommended to my lord Hopton, he was chosen his chaplain; where during the *Campania*, and while the army continued in the field, he performed the duty of his holy function, with as much solemn piety and devotion, as he used before in places consecrated to God's worship; and according to the form used and appointed by the church of England: in all emergencies and present enterprises, using no other prayers, than what the care of the fathers of the church had in those miserable exigencies newly directed. To this he added constantly preaching on the Lord's-day, animating in his sermons the souldiers to fight couragiously, and to demean themselves worthy of that glorious cause with which God had honoured them.

After the fight at Cheriton-down, my lord Hopton drew down with his army and artillery to Basing, in his way to Oxford, intending to take up his winter-quarters as soon as he had consulted with the king. Here did my lord leave the doctor, in that couragiously manned, as well fortified house; a house which made good the motto often written in every window thereof, *Love Loyalty*. But long was he not here, but sir William



William Waller having taken in Winchester, came to besiege the doctor's sanctuary ; but the defendants behaved themselves so bravely, suffering the besiegers scarce to eat or sleep, that sir William was compelled to raise his siege, and march away, leaving above a thousand men slain behind him.

The next removal of the doctor, was to his charge in the army, and his particular duty of chaplain to his said lord ; but success doth not always answer the merit of the cause, the king's field-forces being every-where engaged, and part of the loyal army driven into Cornwall, under the command of that skilful captain, the doctor took refuge betimes in Exeter, having taken his conge and dismissal of his beloved lord.

And here likewise had he not been long, before the city had been besieged by the parliament-forces ; during which siege, there happened a very strange wonderful providence ; take the relation thereof from his own pen. *England's Worthies* p. 273.

“ When the city of Exeter was besieged by the parliament-forces, so that only the south-side thereof towards the sea was open unto it, incredible numbers of larks were found in that open quarter, for multitude like quails in the wilderness, though (blessed be God) unlike them both in cause and effect, as not desired with man's destruction, nor sent with God's anger, as appeared by their safe digestion into wholesome nourishment: hereof I was an eye and mouth-witness. I will save my credit in not conjecturing any number, knowing, that herein though I should stoop beneath



neath the truth, I should mount above belief: they were as fat as plentiful, so that being sold for two pence a dozen, and under, the poor (who could have no cheaper, as the rich no better meat) used to make pottage of them, boyling them down therein. Several natural causes were assigned hereof: 1. That these fowl frightened with much shooting on the land, retreated to the sea-side for their refuge. 2. That it is familiar with them in cold winters (as that was) to shelter themselves in the most southern parts. 3. That some sorts of seed were lately sown in those parts, which invited them thither for their own repast. However, the *Cause of Causes was Divine Providence*, thereby providing a feast for many poor people, who otherwise had been pinched for provision.

During also the doctors abroad there, the queen was in that city, June 16, 1644, delivered of the princess Henrietta, to whom the doctor was by his majesty preferred to be her chaplain; and the more to signifie his approbation of the doctors excellent worth by a farther testimony of it, soon afterwards gave him a patent for his presentation to the town of Dorchester in Dorsetshire, a living valued to be worth 400 *l. per annum*, but neither the one nor the other succeeded; for Exeter being delivered up to Fairfaxes forces upon good conditions, wherein the doctor was included, he thereupon returned to London, and was there till that horrid murder of his sacred majesty, which struck not only grief and amazement in him, but of all good men that either saw or heard of it. Not long after, the honourable earl of Carlile bestowed the rectory of Waltham-Abbey upon him



him, and withal made him his chaplain; both which he very piously and profitably performed. About the same time also he was settled a lecturer at St. Clements-lane near Lombard-street, where he preached every Wednesday in the afternoon to a very numerous audience; and shortly after, from thence he was removed to St. Brides in Fleet-street in the same quality of lecturer, the day being changed to Thursday, where he preached with the same efficacy and success.

The doctor had at the beginning of the wars buried his dear consort, and now having lived a widdower twelve years, he entered again into the marriage-state, taking to wife one of the sisters of the right honourable the viscount Baltinglass, by whom he had issue only one son. And now Cromwell (Heaven protect us!) being chosen (or rather made by himself) protector, published an interdict against ecclesiastical persons, school-masters and others, who had adhered to his late sacred *majesty*, or assisted the present; whereby they were prohibited to perform any ministerial office, teach school, &c. upon several pains and forfeitures: yet for all these bug-bears, he forbore not to preach as he did before: the convincing power either of his doctrine or his worth, keeping him out of the hands of that unreasonable man.

About this time the honourable the lord Berkeley presented him with the living of Cranford in Middlesex, (he having before quitted Waltham) and made him his chaplain; and for the further compleating of his, and all true loyal subjects joy, soon after followed the happy restoration of his *majesty*. And now that loyalty was revived  
again



again, the orthodox clergy came to be in request; his ancient parishioners of the Savoy invited him again to his lecturers place there, who even from his departure had suffered under a disloyal and malicious clergy, being over-awed by an independant rabbi of both factions, Presbytery and Independancy; one Mr. Bond, formerly a preacher at Exeter, being made master of the Savoy by the prevailing faction, against whom whilest rebellion was rampant it was in vain to contend. For this people the doctor had always a more especial respect and kindness, which was the rather heightened in him out of a compassion of their state and condition; nor did he more tenderly affect them, than they universally respected him, receiving him (as indeed he was) as an Angel of God. And now in that pulpit where before was preached treasonable sedition, was by the doctor sown the seeds of loyal obedience.

His last felicity was to be made chaplain in extraordinary to his majesty, which was a well-grounded way to further advancement: but death cut off all such expectations; for being in August at Salisbury to settle the revenues of his prebendariship there, which for near 20 years had been detained from him, feaverish agues were then very rife in that place, the infection whereof he brought with him to London, and which broke out violently upon him soon after his return, (Dr. Nicholas the reverend dean of Pauls dying near the same time, upon his coming from the same place.) Sunday August the twelfth, being in the pulpit, he found himself very ill, so that he was apprehensive of the danger, and therefore before his prayer he addrest himself thus to his congregation



gation: "I find myself very ill, but I am resolved by the Grace of God to preach this sermon to you here, though it be my last;" and according proceeded in his prayer and sermon very perfectly, till in the middle he began to falter, and quickly he recollected himself, and very pertinently concluded. After he had a while sat down, he was not able to rise again, but was fain to be led down the pulpit-stairs by two men into the reading-place, and from thence carried in a Sedan to his lodgings in Covent-Garden; where being had to bed, Dr. Charleton came, who judged his disease to be a violent malignant feavour, such as then raged every where, and which like a plague had swept away a multitude of people. Therefore Phlebotomy was directed, and some twenty ounces of blood taken from him; yet nevertheless the paroxysms continued, having totally bereft the doctor of all sense, so much as to give any the least account of his condition; only some comfortable signs and assurances were given by him, by his frequent lifting up his hands, and eyes; which devotion ended in the folding of his arms, and sighs, fetcht questionless from a perfect contrition for this life, and from an earnest desire after, and hope of that to come.

August the 15. the presages of a dislodging soul were apparent in him; for nature being over-powered, the vitalls burnt up by such a continual heat; his lamp of life began to decay, his feavour and strength abating together, so that it pleased God to restore to him the use of the faculties of his soul, which he very devoutly and thankfully employed, in a Christian preparation  
for



for death; earnestly imploring the prayers of some of his reverend brethren with him, who then were sorrowful visitors of him in these his last agonies, which accordingly was performed, the good doctor with all the intentness of piety joyn- ing with them, and recommending himself with all humble submission to God's providence.

The next morning, August 16, he breathed out his wearied spirit into the hands of his redeemer; and having lain a while dead, an eruption of blood burst from his temples, which was conjectured to have been long settled there, occasioned thorough his immoderate study. He was buried at the desire and at the costs of the right honourably his noble *patron*, the lord Berkeley, at his parish of Cranford in Middlesex, in the chancel of the said church, and attended thither by at least two hundred of his brethren of the ministry, such a solemn assembly being scarce to be parallel'd, where the reverend dean of Rochester, Dr. Hardy, preached his funeral-sermon, where we will leave him quietly sleeping in his grave, to speak something of his endowments and qualifications.

He was master of a good method, and by that of an extraordinary memory; being able to repeat 500 strange words after twice hearing of them; and to make use of any mans exercise or sermon *verbatim*, if he once but either saw or heard it. His writings are very facetious, and where he is careful, *judicious*; his Pisgah-sight is the exactest; his Holy-War and State the wittiest; his Church-History the unhappiest, written in such a time when he could not do the truth right with safety, nor wrong it with honour; and his

Wor



Worthies, not finished at his death, the most imperfect. As for his other works, viz. Good Thoughts in bad Times; Thoughts in worse Times; Life of Andronicus; Infants Advocate; Fuller's Triple Reconciler; Mixt Contemplations in these Times; The Lives of several modern Divines: with several other volumes of sermons; he that shall but read Fullers name unto them, will not think them otherwise, but worthy of that praise and respect, which the whole nation afforded unto the author.

There had been before some ranounters or pen-combats betwixt him and Dr. Heylin, concerning his church-history, in a book set out by Dr. Heylyn called Animadversions upon Mr. Fullers Ecclesiastical History; which the doctor answered by a book styled, The Appeal of injured Innocence to the learned and ingenuous Reader; wherein after many tart expressions on either side, (especially of Dr. Heylin's) it ended in a reciprocal love and amity, as may be seen by their letters one to another.

I remember when my first impression of this book of England's Worthies came forth, it being in the year 1659, a time like that when the doctors Church-History came out, the truth could not be spoken with safety; the doctor was half offended with me, as anticipating him in the title of a designed work of his; but when he understood my ignorance of his designe, and my constant cordialness to the *Royal-Cause*, his anger was turned to amity, as by his expressions to me at Waltham-Abbey, he manifested himself.

And indeed it is great pity he lived not to finish his Worthies, which had it had his last hand



hand unto it, would no doubt have come forth into the world far more compleat than it is.

To give you his character in short. He was a good-natured man, very moderate in his judgment and practice, and therefore faring as moderate men use to do, who are suspected on both sides, and guests at the middle of a table, who can reach to neither mess either above or beneath. So general a scholar, that it was his insight into every thing he had read, that (together with his thinking and meditating nature, out of which he could not be got sometimes for several hours together) that made his fancy so nimble, that as soon as he heard any subject, he was able to speak to it, taking not above two hours time to recollect himself for his sermons. In sum, he was a serious Christian, though a witty man. To speak more of him were to speak less.

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*Observations on the Life of Doctor  
Peter Heylyn.*

**T**HIS learned doctor, whose life we now present unto you, was born at Burford in Oxford-shire, the 29th of November 1600, a year very remarkable for the birth of those two learned persons, Jacob August, and Thuanus; but more especially, for the birth of that eminent martyr king Charles the first, born but just ten days before him, whose loyal subject and servant he was, neither shrinking for fear, nor over-awed



by power, but faithfully adhering to his masters cause in the time of greatest exigency and danger.

He was second son of Henry Heylyn gentleman, descended from the ancient family of the Heylyns of Pentre Heylyn in Montgomery-shire, then part of the Powis-Land, from the princes whereof they were derived, and unto whom they were hereditary cup-bearers, for so the word Heylyn doth signify in the Welch or British language. In his green and tender years, he was put to school at Burford the place of his nativity, where he very much profited under his two school-masters Mr. North and Mr. Davis, so that at fourteen years of age he was admitted a commoner at Hart-Hall in Oxford, under the tuition of Mr. Joseph Hill, an ancient batchellor of divinity: and after him, under Mr. Walter Newbery a zealous puritan in those days, who little thought (saith one) his pupil would afterwards prove so sharp an enemy to the puritan faction.

He had not been long at the university, but his parts were so looked upon, that he was chosen Demy of Magdalen-Colledge, and soon after Impositer of the Hall; and all this but at fifteen years of age. In those juvenile studies of his, he composed an English tragedy called *Spurius*, that was so generally well liked by the society, that Dr. Langton the president commanded it to be acted in his lodgings.

In the year 1617 he took his degree of batchellour of arts, and according to custom being to read his lectures, he pitcht upon Geography, to which his genius naturally led him; which he did with such a general applause and approbation of the fellows, that forthwith the whole society

*nemine*



*nemine contradicente*, admitted him their probationer fellow in the place of Mr. Lone, as also moderator of the *senior* form in the hall, a place both *creditable* and *profitable* unto him. Afterwards, in the year 1619, he was admitted fellow in that honourable society, and in the next year, viz. 1620, took the degree of master of arts; being one of those masters that first sat with their caps on in the Convocation-House, by order of the earl of Pembroke then chancellor of the university, *How that from that time forward the Masters of arts, who before sat bare, should wear their caps in all congregations and convocations*: which has been ever since observed.

And now being both master and fellow, he resolves to become more publick, and to that end publishes his quarto book of Geography, which found such a general acceptance, that it was printed about eight times over, and afterwards by him improved (upon a fellows shouldrung him as he went along King-street, in the beginning of the troubles, and saying, *Geography is better than Divinity*, i. e. as he understood, he had better success in writing geography than divinity) to a large and exact folio, the best now extant.

And now being desirous to become serviceable to the church, he falls seriously upon the study of divinity, and entred into the holy orders of deacon and priest, which he had conferred upon him at distinct times, in St. Aldates church at Oxon, by the reverend father in God bishop Howson. At the time when he was ordained priest, he preached the ordination-sermon upon the words of our Saviour to St. Peter, Luke 22.



*And when thou art converted strengthen thy Brethren.* Soon after falling into some displeasure with king James, upon a passage in his Geography which gave precedence to the French king, and called France the more famous kingdom, (for which he apologized to Dr. Yong) he resolved to take a voyage thither, which accordingly he did in the year 1625, accompanied with his faithful friend Mr. Levet of Lincoln's-Inn; where tho' he stayed not above five Weeks, yet in that short space did he take a most accurate account of the chief cities and eminent places in that kingdom, as also of the manners and dispositions of the people, which he set forth in his book called A Survey of France, an ingenious piece, well worthy the perusal of an intelligent reader.

And now having to his other acquired abilities added that of travel, and gained a good applause of those who were able to discern of parts; he was called unto the divinity-school to dispute in his turn, according to the statutes of the university: on April 18th, A. D. 1627, he comes up as opponent, and on Tuesday the 24th following he answered *pro forma*, upon these two questions.

*An Ecclesia unquam fuerit invisibilis?*

*An Ecclesia possit errare?*

Whether the church ever was invisible?

Whether the church can err?

Both which he determined in the negative, and made good the first, not by the visibility of the church (as Dr. Prideaux in his lectures had done) in the Berengarians, Waldenses, Wiclivists, Hufsites,



sites, (among whom the ecclesiastical hierarchy failed) but in Asia, Æthiopia, Greece, Italy, yea, Rome itself, where Bellarmine himself maintained many fundamenal points very well against ancient and modern hereticks, concluding thus, \* *Utinam quod ipse de Calvino sic semper errasset Nobilissimus Cardinalis.* At which words Dr. Prideaux was so impatient in his chair, that he fell upon the respondent in most vile terms, calling him *Papicola, Bellarminianus, Pontificius* &c. grievously complaining to the younger sort of his auditors, unto whom he made his chiefest addresses, of the unprofitable pains he took among them if Bellarmine whom he had laboured to confute for so many years, should be honoured with the title of *Nobilissimus*.

And now being by the means of Dr. Prideaux asperst with an inclination to popery, to clear himself, in November next following, he preached before the king, on these words, John 4. v. 20. *Our Fathers worshiped on this mountain, &c.* and afterwards upon the parable of the Tares, Matth. 13. v. 26. *Then appeared the Tares also.* Which gave such ample satisfaction in his averfness to popery, that some of the courtiers (who before had been otherwise perswaded of him,) sticked not to say, *That he had done more towards the subversion of Popery in these sermons, than Dr. Prideaux had done in all the sermons he had preached in his life.*

And now he is resolved to change his academical to a married life; and to this purpose he makes choice of a gentlewoman of a good personage,

M m 3

\* I wish that the most noble Cardinal had always thus erred about Calvin.



sonage, parentage, portion, and education ; mrs Letitia High-Gate, third daughter of Thomas High-Gate of Heys esquire, one of his majesties justices of the peace for the county of Middlesex; the way being more open and easy, his elder brother having before married her elder sister. And here is to be remembered, at such time as he was a suiter to her, he presented her with a very rich gilded bible, as most suiting with a divine, and with it a copy of verses well worthy to be transcribed in gold: the verses were these :

Could this out-side beholden be  
To cost and cunning equally ;  
Or were it such as might suffice  
The luxury of curious eyes ;  
Yet would I have my dearest look  
Not on the cover, but the book.

If thou art merry, here are airs ;  
If melancholy, here are prayers :  
If studious, here are those things writ,  
Which may deserve thy ablest wit ;  
If hungry, here is food divine ;  
If thirsty, Nectar, Heavenly Wine,

Read then, but first thy self prepare  
To read with zeal, and mark with care ;  
And when thou read'st what here is writ,  
Let thy best practice second it ;  
So twice each precept read shall be,  
First in the book, and next in thee.

Much reading may thy spirits wrong ;  
Refresh them therefore with a song :

And



And that thy musick praise may merit ;  
Sing Davids psalms with Davids spirit ;  
That as thy voice doth pierce mens ears,  
So shall thy prayers and vows the sphears.

Thus read, thus sing, and then to thee  
The very earth a Heaven shall be :  
If thus thou readest, thou shalt find  
A private Heaven within thy mind :  
And singing thus before thou die,  
Thou sing'st thy part to those on high.

He had with his wife a thousand pound for her portion, besides what his father had left him, which was a competent estate for a younger brother ; and now a fair opportunity offered itself to him for his future preferment ; and that was to attend the right honourable the earl of Danby to the isles of Guernsie and Jerisie, (of which afterwards he writ a description) and where he made such observations to present bishop Laud, to whom he had then applyed himself, as might let him see, he was not altogether incapable of managing such publick busines, as he might afterwards think fit to entrust him withal : which succeeded so well, that in a short time after, the bishop recommended him to his majesty for chaplain in ordinary, and by degrees employed him in such affairs of moment and weight, as rendered his service not unuseful both to church and state, for which his pen was never idle ; and first he began in vindication of the most noble order of the Garter, by writing his history of the famous Saint and Souldier of Jesus Christ, St. George of Cappadocia, the patron of that  
royal



royal Order, whereby he obliged most of the nobility of that time; proceeding to his history of the Sabbath, of Episcopacy, of Altars, in his *Antidotum Lincolniense*; of Liturgies, in his *Ecclesia Vindicata*; of the quinquarticular controverſie, the reformation, titles, Calvinism, and its consistency with monarchy, and his historical exposition upon the Creed, clearing up the truth by the histories, laws, councils, fathers and other writers of the church; and discovering the occasion, original, and progress of every error.

Whilest thus he was employed for the publick good he was presented with two livings, the one by Mr. Bridges, being the parsonage of Meyſie-Hampton in Gloucester-shire, the other by the king, to the rectory of Hemingford in the county of Huntingdon; but was disappointed of them both; the one by the papistical bishop of Gloucester, the other by the puritanical bishop of Lincoln; to both which factions he was an utter enemy. But the king, whose discerning spirit knew these repulses came only from the doctor's merit, within a while after gave him a prebendship in the collegiate church of Westminster, and soon after the parsonage of Houghton in the bishoprick of Durham, which he exchanged with Dr. Marshal for the parsonage of Alresford in Hampshire. No sooner was he possessed of these livings, but he bestowed great cost in repair both on his prebend-house at Westminster, as also his parsonage house at Alresford, in one of which he constantly resided, keeping great hospitality for the poor, and a bountiful house amongst his rich neighbours. Nor was his care less for the service of God to be constantly performed, by  
reading



reading the Common-Prayers in the church every morning, which gave great satisfaction to the parish, being a populous market-town.

In July 1630, he took the degree of batchelour of divinity, and afterwards in 1633, commenced doctor in divinity, which compleated him in all degrees that the university could confer upon him. And now still more employments were put upon him; the bishop of Lincoln being dean of Westminster, great complaint was made against him by the prebendaries, for infringing their priviledges, violating their customs, and destroying their ancient rights. A charge being drawn up against him consisting of no less than thirty-six articles, whereupon his majesty gave order for a commission to be issued out unto the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the earl of Manchester, the lord privy-seal, earl of Portland, the lord Cottington, and the two secretaries of state, sir John Cook, and sir Francis Windebanck; which though the execution of it was delayed for some time, yet was afterwards revived, and by the well managing of it by Dr. Heylyn, in sum the prebends got the day.

And now again was revived the old difference about the strict observation of the lord's day, which some misguided zealots would have turned to a Jewish sabbath, not allowing themselves or others the ordinary liberties or works of absolute necessity, which the Jews themselves never scrupled at; against which the doctor published his History of the Sabbath, strongly confuting the arguments of the adversaries; yet as not in the least encouraging profaneness of the day;



day ; so on the other side not to have the religious observation of it brought into superstition, and the people so tyed up, that they should not dare to kindle a *fire*, dress *meat*, visit their *neighbours*, sit at their own *door*, or walk abroad, no nor so much as talk with one another, except it be in the poets words,

— *Of God, Grace and Ordinances,*

*As if they were in Heavenly trances.*

These schisms about the Sabbath were much countenanced if not encouraged by bishop Williams, who upon discontent and revenge for being deprived of the great seal, and commanded by the king to retire from Westminster, he thereupon becomes head of the dissenting party, and was of a sudden transformed into one of those Angels of New-Light, writing against the holy Communion-Table standing altar-wise, in a pretended letter to one Titley vicar of Grantham ; to which Dr. Heylyn made a sudden and sharp reply, in a book entitled, *A Coal from the Altar* : to which the bishop returned an answer, under the title of *The Holy Table name and thing*, answered again, and flatly confuted by Dr. Heylin in his *Antidotum Lincolnienſe*. Mean time here is to be observed, that whatever the bishop writ was against his own science and conscience, so dear is the passion of revenge : for look upon him in the point of practice, and we shall find the communion-table was placed altar-wise in the cathedral church of Lincoln, whereof he was bishop, and in the collegiate church of Westminster, of which he was dean ; and lastly in the private chappel of his own house, in which (saith Dr. Heylyn) it was *not onely placed altar-wise,*



*wise, but garnished with rich plate and other costly Utensils, in more than ordinary manner.* Thus you may see how this bishop stood affected for the placing of the communion-table. Then for his strictness in observation of the lord's day, he being committed to the Tower of London for endeavouring to corrupt the king's witness in a cause of bastardy, where he continued prisoner for three years, in all that space of time, *His Lordship did never hear sermon or publick prayers.*

Soon after great changes ensued, the long parliament began November the 3, a dismal day. Being the same when Henry the 8 began the dissolution of abbeyes, and papists with protestants *were laid both on one Hurdle, and burnt together at the same stake.* The enemies of episcopacy began to prick up their ears, and one of them which had no ears, writ a book of the unbishoping of *Timothy and Titus*; Burton in his sermon on *Prov. 24. v. 22*, railed on the bishops, calling them in stead of fathers, step-fathers; for pillars, cater-pillars, limbs of the beast, factors for Antichrist, Antichristian-Mushrooms, &c.

In short, all things were turned topsy-turvey, the seeds of schism and separation amongst the Saints, taking root, quickly sprang up into open rebellion, put all into disorder, dispersed families, parted nearest relations, forced people from their houses, and ministers out of their churches; several times was the doctor alarmed by drums and trumpets sounding about him, so that finding no other way of safety, for safeguard of his life, he was forced to fly to the king at Oxford, the parliament resolving if they could have took him, he should have followed his good lord of Can-



Canterbury to another world than that described in his cosmography; but seeing they could not light on his person, they secured his estate, sending down an order for sequestration of all his goods and chattels, and that the sooner by the means of one colonel Norton, who (it is said) kept the best of the doctor's plate, beds, and other costly furniture to himself, as a recompence of his great care in plundering him of the rest, although indeed he might have spared the doctor his plate and beds, and only have took the *Hangings* for his due. His books were carryed away to Portsmouth, many of them being sold by the way, good folio's for a flaggon of ale apiece, and the carriage of them pai'd by books, Robin Hood's penniworths; yet notwithstanding the books were so embezell'd and wasted by them, they were appraised at near a *thousand pound*, and put into a publick library, from whence they could never be regained.

He being thus plunder'd, (a genteel word for rob'd) of all his goods, the title of both his livings sequestred, with the profits of his prebendary at Westminster, and what temporal estate he had within their reach, taken from him, he was forced for a while to live at Oxford, (as he merrily told one of his friends) *By Horseflesh and old Leather*, meaning thereby, that having saved only his coach and horses which brought him to Oxford, he was forced to sell them, and live upon the money, but he had soon cut such large thongs out of his leather, that that supply failed him; then for a while did he subsist upon *Credit*, but that was shorter liv'd than his mony, seldom



feldom holding long without an estate to support it; yet was it better than his last shift, which was upon the *Charity* of his friends, which like fresh-fish soon grows stale.

And indeed if *Money* were wanting, well might *Credit* and *Friends* fail, when scarce any one knew how to support himself, and therefore the doctor knowing himself and family could not live like a *Camelion* upon the air; he therefore sent his wife to London, to get what money she could amongst her friends and relations, whilest he himself resolved to play the *Pilgrim*, and under a disguised name and habit seek his fortune, and thus accoutered like a *Poor Traveller*, leaves Oxford, and for his first randevous betakes himself to the house of one Mr. Munday in Oxfordshire, a well-known royalist, who at that time was not at home: the doctor therefore applyed himself to his wife for shelter, who entertained him with a *Judas* welcome, for being otherwise principled than her husband, she gave intelligence to some parliament-souldiers that there was a cavalier-doctor at her house; which intelligence had put a period to our doctor's perambulation, had not Mr. Munday's two sister's, who hated such perfidioufness, given him notice thereof, and when the family was all in bed conveyed him out at a back-door, whereby he escaped the hands of the souldiers, who the next morning had beset the house for to have taken him.

The divine providence having thus protected him from the treachery of that base woman, he shifted about from place to place, being very weary of trusting himself again into the hands  
of



of a *Holy Sister*; but weary of this perambulating life, and some supplies of money coming in, he settled himself, his wife, and eldest daughter at Winchester, then a strong garison of the king's, where for a while he had some *Halcyon* days, but they endured not long, for this place thought invincible was cowardly yeilded up in three days time, so that the doctor was now in more danger than ever, had not Mr. Lizard, in whose house he boarded, secured him in a private room, so cunningly contrived, that there was no door to be seen, nor entrance into it, (supposed to be formerly made for the hiding of seminary priests and jesuits, the house heretofore belonging to a *Papist Family*) here did he abide in safety whilst the souldiers hunted about for him; but desirous of liberty, whilst the souldiers were busy in gaming and rioting, he took an opportunity on the market-day to put on his *Travelling-Robes*, with a long staff in his hand, and so walked out of the town confidently with the country-crowd, leaving his wife and daughter to the care of his faithful friend Mr. Lizard.

And now thinking himself out of danger, he was just upon the brink of it, for having left Winchester not many miles behind him, he met with some stragling souldiers, who catching hold of his hand, felt a ring under his glove, which through hast of his escape he forgot to pull off; now a gold ring agreeing so ill with his habit, made them conclude him some *run-away Cavalier*, and therefore resolved first to plunder, and then secure him; but whilst they were ransacking him, some of the parliament-scouts came gallop-



galloping by, who said to their fellow-souldiers, *Look to your selves, the Cavaliers are coming*, which affrighting words made them leave him, having took away his ring, and that little money he had in his pocket, but through their hast mist of some pieces of gold he had in his *High-Shoes*. And thus did the doctor run through many dangers for his loyalty, never secure from their rage and malice, which was so inveterate, that could they have catcht him, nought had satisfied but his blood, as he was informed from a friend in the house of commons.

Thus in jeopardy spent he his time in an unsettled way, whilest his royal master was by God's permissive providence overcome by his rebellious subjects; and now the doctor desirous to settle to his study, seeing no other ways to do it, compounded for his quiet, which cost him 374 *l.* for his temporal estate, his two livings and prebendship being taken from him, which made him for a livelihood (being silenced preaching) to turn farmer, at Minster-Lovell, in Oxfordshire, (the pleasant seat of his elder brother) which he hired of his nephew colonel Heylyn, for six years; and now, what with his writing, his wife's good-housewifery, and some incomes of his temporal estate, he was enabled to keep a plentiful house, and relieve divers who were sufferers for the royal cause; amongst others who participated of his bounty was Mr. Marchamont Needham, then a zealous loyalist, and scourge to the rump-parliament in his writing *Pragmaticus*, for which being pursued, and in danger to be taken, he was by the good doctor preserved in a high-room, here he continued some time his weekly writing. But  
after-



afterward like *Balaam* the son of *Beor*, hired with the wages of unrighteousness, corrupted with mercenary gifts and bribes, became the only *Apostate* of the nation, writing for that *base Democracy*, for which the doctor could never after endure the mention of his name, who had so disoblighed his country and the royal party, by his shameful *Tergiversation*.

But what will not the lucre of money do, as may be seen in this example! the doctor's charity being so open to the royal party, caused great resort of indigent officers thither, amongst others a Scotch royalist captain, whom the doctor kindly welcomed; it happened this captain had a Scotch diurnal in his pocket, which the doctor and he reading, one of his servants listning at the door, went straitway to Oxford, and informed the governour colonel Kelsey, that his master had received letters from the king; hoping thereby to get a good reward; whereupon the governour sent a party of horse to fetch him away, who very early in the morning surprized him in his bed, to his great astonishment; no excuses would serve, but go he must, whither being come, that treacherous rogue his man did confidently affirm his words, and that he was sure he could remember them if his master would produce the letters: upon which the doctor relates the whole story to the governour, withal shews the diurnal, which the governour read to the fellow, often asking him, *Is this right? is this the same you heard?* to which he answered, *Yes Sir, yes, this is the very thing, and those words I remember:* wherefore the governour to quicken his memory better  
another



another time, caused him to be soundly whipt, a fit reward for such a treacherous servant.

And thus the doctor being fairly dismiss'd, returned to his studies ; but as the fish cannot live without water, so could not the doctor rest without trouble, being harraled soon after before Oliver's major-general, for the decimation of his estate. This was a new surprize to him, for he thought his payments been at an end by his composition at Goldsmith's-hall, but the *Parliament-Teazers* were like the horseleach always crying, *Give, give* : whilst the doctor laying his cause before this major-general and his captains one captain Allen formerly a tinker (brother to colonel Fox in two respects : first, in their trade, being both tinkers ; secondly, that they were both alike Simeon and Levi, brethren in iniquity) this captain Allen had married a low wife, yet out of the height of his generosity took upon him to reprove the doctor for maintaining of his wife so highly like a lady : to whom the doctor smartly replied ; that he had " married a gentlewoman, and did maintain her according to her quality ; and so might he his low wife : " adding withal, that this rule he always observed, " for his wife to go above his estate, his children according to his estate, and himself below his estate ; so that at the year's end he could make all even." But if he had the oratory of *Demosthenes*, nothing would satisfie them (though he had compounded for his estate before) but the payment of the tenth part of it again, which accordingly he was forced to do.



But not long after, the happy restauration of his sacred majesty, put a period to these grievances.

*When Peace and Justice came again in action,  
And we by Law were rul'd, and not by Faction.*

Upon which happy change the doctor was restored to all his former preferments, of which he had been deprived for seventeen years; having the honour to attend his sacred majesty at the time of his coronation, in the solemnity of which according to his office and place, (as sub-dean of Westminster) he presented upon his knees the *Royal Scepter* unto his majesty. That evening, after the ceremonies of the coronation were over, while the ordnance were playing from the Tower, it chanced to thunder violently, at which some persons who were then at supper with the doctor, seemed much affrighted, but he smiling at their pusillanimity of courage, to cheer them up, said, "see how the ordnance of Heaven answer those of the Tower, rejoicing at this royal solemnity!"

And now being settled at Westminster, he spent the residue of his days in the service of God, and seeking after the churches good, having some time before his death the ill fortune to loose his sight, conceived by skilful *Oculists* that his brain over-heated with immoderate study, burnt up the cristaline humour of his eyes, so that afterwards he was fain to make use of one Mr. Gervis, for his *Amanuensis* or clark. He dyed on Holy-Thursday, anno 1663, in the 63  
year



year of his age, and was buried over against the sub-dean's seat, on the north side of the Abbey in Westminster, having a very fair monument there erected to his memory. *his Epitaph maybe seen in Keape's Monamenta Westmonast. 189, 190.*

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## *Observations on the Life of General Monk, Duke of Albemarle, &c.*

**T**HIS heroick person was born December the 6th, Anno 1608, the second son of sir Thomas Monk, of Potheridge in Devon-shire, of an ancient and eminent family; but the chief of the estate devolving on the elder brother, this George was designed for military employment; and being about seventeen years of age, was recommended to the care of sir Richard Greenvil his near kinsman, with whom he went over into Spain; but that voyage proving unsuccessful, and we having wars with France, he went in those expeditions to the isle of Rhe and Rochel, where then he carried colours under the command of sir John Burroughs; but that also proving unsuccessful, and no employment for military spirits in England, he betook himself to the Netherlands, (that nursery of martial spirits) under the conduct of the lord Vere earl of Oxford, where he learned both to fight and to be loyal. Afterwards he was in the regiment of the lord Goring eldest son to the earl of Norwich, where he had a commission to be captain, and for several years served with good success and commendation;



mendation ; but receiving an affront from the burghers of Dort, and notwithstanding complaint, receiving no justice, he quitted their service, and came over into England.

Here he found the *Gates of Janus* which had long been shut, newly opened ; the Scottish nation under pretences of religion entering into open rebellion : against these he engaged, being major of the regiment of the earl of Newport, who was general of the ordnance. And here did he first find how that good king Charles the first was bought and sold by his own subjects : for the Scots attempting to come over the river Tine at Newborn, they were so ill provided of store, that they had but one bullet, and one charge of powder for the whole regiment ; and sending for a recruit to sir Jacob Ashley the major-general, who quarter'd at Newcastle the night before, he professed they had none in store. Which made the magnanimous person to say, “ that he had never seen such gallant horse and foot in all his time, (men able to have reduced many such kingdoms as Scotland) to be exposed to have their throats cut by an enemy half armed :” however with that little *modicum*, he brought off the ordnance, and kept the Scots at such distance, that they durst scarce look after him.

Before these Scottish troubles were well quieted, the rebellion broke forth in Ireland, for the reducing of which kingdom, the earl of Leicester was appointed to go lord lieutenant ; who made his cousin George Monk, colonel of his regiment, having many brave persons under him. But by the means of some factious persons in the parliament, who were more for embroyling  
Eng-



England than reducing Ireland, the earl could not be accommodated with men nor money proportionable to that work, whereupon he never went. Yet this regiment under colonel Monk landed at Dublin, where he did such considerable service, that the lords justices and council, in consideration of his faithfulness and courage, chose him to be governour of Dublin; but suddenly from England, a new commission was brought for another person, neither acceptable to the governours nor governed.

Here he stayed whilst a cessation was concluded, when his regiment was transported to the king's assistance in England; himself also coming over, was by the lord Digby then secretary of state, presented to his majesty, with an humble request that he might be employed in some considerable command; and no doubt but that gracious king had performed it; but whilst he was intent upon the matter, colonel Monk being sent to Nantwich, to over-look some forces newly arrived from Ireland; in the mean time sir Thomas Fairfax with a good force out of Yorkshire, surprized them, and with them colonel Monk, who hereupon was sent prisoner to Hull, and from Hull soon after to the Tower of London.

Here he remained several years, and that upon great disadvantages: his friends remote in Devonshire, under the king's quarters, could not furnish him; his annuity small, and ill paid: some overtures made for his exchange, but the courtiers out-ran him, and got the advantage by friends to get out of prison before him; only his late majesty, to shew a testimony of his kindness



to him, sent him an hundred pounds ; a great sum at that time I assure ye, when Oxford and the Indies had little commerce. But still his imprisonment endured, which is a kind of a lingring death ; to be confined to stone-walls and iron-bars is most contrary to the nature of man, who is a sociable creature. In this condition he is highly tempted, his freedom and a great command in their army is proffer'd by the parliament, if he will promise trust to them. Here is liberty and preferment on the one hand, but his loyalty to his king outweigh'd them both : against whom he resolved never to draw his sword. At last by the sollicitation of the lord Lisle son to the earl of Leicester, who was going lord deputy into Ireland, he had the command of a regiment, and accompanied him thither : for against those rebels his conscience was free to engage. Here he staid till that lord's commission expired, which was not long ; when he returned into England, and colonel Monk with him, where he is quickly carressed by the parliament, to undertake the command of the Brittish forces in the North of Ireland ; which he accepted, and so visits that nation the third time, performing many gallant exployts, against the chief of the rebels under Owen Roe and Oneal : but all on a sudden the Scotish forces deserted him, and Monroe had a designe to seize him, which he prevented, and seized on Monroe ; and soon after patched up a peace with Oneal, which some thought he durst not have done, had he not therein had the consent of Cromwel, and some other leading persons. However, soon after  
coming



coming to London, he was examined strictly about it, and a great many of the members were so highly dissatisfied therewith, that they moved he might be committed to his old lodgings in the Tower; but others who had been moulded by Cromwel's letters, sent to them for that purpose, were so far against it, as one of them replied, it was fitter to commit the Tower to him.

And now for a while he was out of employment, during which time was perpetrated the horrid murder of the king; and the Scots declaring for his son, our sacred sovereign, though their closing thus with him was not so agreeable to his majesty: however a great army is raised, against which (sir Thomas Fairfax refusing to engage) Cromwel is called out of Ireland and made general, which was according to his own wish, well-knowing there is but a step from an ambitious general to a throne; which made him so greedily swallow this morsel, after which he had so long gaped.

Cromwel solicits Monk very highly to go along with him in this expedition, which at last he undertakes; they marched into Scotland about twenty thousand, but were so harassed with continual alarms and insals of the enemy, that by such time they got to Dunbar they were wasted to eight thousand. Here a council of war being called, Monk earnestly urges a battle, which though by many opposed, was at last agreed upon; and to make good what he had so desired, he as Brigadier at the head of three regiments of foot, with his pike in his hand, charged up the hills that are above the town from the sea-

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side,



side, where he found stout opposition by Lawers his regiment of High-landers, who stood to the push of pike, till their lieutenant-colonel was slain, and most of themselves cut in pieces; had the others stood it out as bravely, it might have spoiled Cromwel's future protector-ship, but the rest of their infantry took the rout, having the dishonour to be a great many of them killed running away, and more of them taken prisoners.

Cromwel having obtained this victory, pursued after his majesty to Worcester, who with another army was marched into England; for those officers that were under him, would not be suffer'd to have any command in the army at Dunbar: the Scots being then miserably divided amongst themselves, one party in the North was for the king without the kirk, another party in the West was for the kirk without the king; a third party was for kirk and king. Cromwel thus pursuing his majesty, made Monk commander in chief of all the forces left in Scotland, which though not very considerable, yet with them he performed wonders; and at first he takes in the strong castle of Sterling, and in it 5000 arms, 40 pieces of ordnance, all the records of Scotland, the chair and cloth of estate, the sword, and other rich furniture of the king's; which were sent to the Tower of London: from thence he marches to Dundee, which he summons, but was by the governour Robert Lumisdaine, who trusted much to the strength of the place, answered with more courage than discretion, "that if the commander, and the rest of the English forces, would lay



lay down their arms, and submit themselves, he would give them passes to return peaceably to their own homes." But it seems they were better to talk than to fight, for upon receiving this answer, general Monk fell upon them with such resolution, that after a short but sharp resistance, he entered the town; where the governour himself was slain, with many others. Exceeding great was the pillage of this town, almost all the wealth of the neighbouring places being there (as they thought) secured, insomuch as the souldiers regarded little other plunder than plate or money. But see the judgement of God! most of this wealth being shipped in 60 ships, taken in the harbour, intended for Leith and England, were within sight of the town cast away, without the appearance of any great storm.

At his first coming to this siege, he being informed that old general Lesly with several other lords of Scotland, were met at Elliot (about fourteen miles from his camp) with an intent to raise souldiers for the relief of Dundee; he immediately dispatches Morgan and Allured, with a thousand horse and dragoons to disturb their levies: these marching in the night, about three of the clock in the morning surprized them all with little or no resistance; the chief of them were the earls marshal, Crawford, Lindsey, and Keith, the lords Ogleby, Burgenny, Hume and Lee; Lesly was taken in a Dutch cupboard-bed; in all there were about three hundred noble-men, gentlemen and ministers, the chief of which were shipt for London. After these notable actions of general Monk, all Scotland readily submitted to the English, and all the towns and  
strong



strong places either voluntarily came in, or submitted upon open summons.

These victories atchieved, he fell very dangerously sick, and for the recovery of his health came over into England, where having attained some strength, he returned into Scotland: but a war happening betwixt the Dutch and us, his gallant resolution was so much looked upon, that he with general Dean had the command of the English navy against the Hollanders. June 2, 1653, both navies engaged, wherein general Dean was slain at the first shot made by the Dutch, as he stood by general Monk; but he nothing daunted thereat, causing him to be removed, prosecuted the battel with great resolution, without any further notice of the accident; and after a sharp and bloody fight, obtained a glorious victory, having sunk six of their best ships, whereof two were blown up amongst their own fleet, took eleven ships and two hoyes, and thirteen hundred and fifty prisoners, whereof six were captains of very good note, and of the ships one was a vice-admiral, and two were rear-admirals.

This Dean, the night before he was killed, the rats had torn and devoured all that part of his doublet, on the left side, where he was killed with a cannon-bullet: some who are great observers of such accidents, construe this as a foreboding of that which happened unto him; for my own part I am rather of the mind of the grave Cato, who when one asked counsel of him very seriously, what harm he thought aboded him, because rats had gnawn his hose? he merrily



rily answered, "that it was a strange thing to see that, but it had been much more strange if his horse had devoured the rats."

But to proceed, this overthrow did not so much daunt the Dutch, but that soon after they were out with another great fleet, to the number of 125 sayl, which on the 29 of July, were engaged by general Monk, who was now commander in chief, having Pen for his vice-admiral, and Lawfon rear-admiral: the fight was sharp and very bloody, (for general Monk observing this war to be very burthensome to the nation, thought the best way of ending it to be in the sharpness of it; and therefore gave orders to all his captains, neither to give nor take quarter; for he had found by experience that the taking of ships oblig'd him always to send other ships off with them, and so the fleet became weakened) and accordingly was the fight maintained with much eagerness and resolution on both sides: but the Dutch admiral the famous Van-Trump, being slain, their courages fell with their general, and sought to save themselves by flight. The English pursued little (having bought the victory at a dear rate) but tack'd about to Solebay, there to repair the shattered ships, and dispose of their prisoners, whereof five were captains, viz. Everfon, Zanger, Fomeen, Scotten, and D'Hayes, and about 1200 common men, by the mercy and compassion of the English taken out of boats, and swimming in the sea; thirty three sail of ships, out of which they were saved, were sunk to the bottom of the ocean: and in regard that these prisoners were belonging to so many lost ships, by this means the number of them



them was known, what ever besides might be sunk, out of which no men were saved. The English purchased this victory very highly, loosing 400 common men, and eight captains, Graves, Peacock, Taylor, Crispe, Newman, Cox, and Chapman, men of daring resolutions and high spirits; and had about 700 wounded, but they lost but one ship, which was called the Oak.

For this notable piece of service, general Monk was by the little *Juncto* chosen by the army (for Cromwel had turned out the Rump not long before) ordered a chain of gold, and a large medal appending, with the representation of a sea-fight. And very highly he is treated by Cromwel, who now grasping at the helm of government, sought to gain his friendship by all means imaginable: and the better to secure himself in his throne, patcheth up a very disadvantageous peace with the Dutch, to the great dissatisfaction of our noble general, he having by his valour brought them so low, that they could not have fought above one battel more; and then our fleets were blocking up their rivers, so that before the end of the year, the English might have given what conditions they please; but Cromwel sought to gain what friends he could abroad, knowing he had many enemies at home; for the Scots were then busy banding against him, under the earls of Glencarn, Athole, and several others; Middleton also and sir George Monroe, bringing supplys to them out of Holland, so that their army was judged formidable, and might have proved so, had it not been for the divisions amongst



amongst them about command; it being the nature of some men, that a thing should rather be undone, if they have not the doing of it themselves. To dissipate this northern cloud, general Monk must into Scotland again, commissionating major-general Morgan with that part of the English forces that were quarter'd about Aberdeen. They both several ways go in search of the Scottish forces, and coming upon them at Loughgerry in the Highlands, July 20, 1654, gave Middleton such an utter defeat, as quite put a period to those Highland agitations, and all further attempts in Scotland, to the disturbance of the then regnant authority in England.

One thing must not be omitted, that when Cromwel designed general Monk thither, he designed also the most mutinous and seditious part of his forces, that were dissatisfied with his government; and this he did upon a double account: one, that they might watch their general, he having a jealous eye upon him for his valour and favour with both souldiers and people: the other, that he might be rid of them, which would no doubt have been great obstacles in the carrying on of his usurped authority and ambition. A great instance that this impostor did not want his Machavillian arts and principles.

During all the time of old Nolls usurpation, and Dick Cromwels short-liv'd authority, he lived quietly and reservedly; having by his civility and moderation gain'd a very great esteem amongst the Scottish nobility and gentry. And as every faction in England had predominancy, so was he courted by them, as one whose  
interest



interest could much sway the ballance of concerns on which side soever he took: but he warily waved his absolute compliance with any of them, foreseeing that all those models of government proposed by the fanaticks, would be like ropes of sand, of no strength nor continuance; yet did he (like Hushai) insinuate with them, to get into a station whereby to have the better opportunity to serve his sovereign.

Which soon after he had, the English army so insulting over all the bounds of law and reason, as made them odious to the people: and such changes of government happened in so little a time, as made the people worse than in an Egyptian bondage: for since the last time of general Monks going into Scotland, there happen'd in England these several sorts of government: First, when he went, Cromwel ruled the roast; Dick Cromwel aped Rex for a time; the army having outed him, were *non plust* what to do, and brought in the Rump; their tyrannies were so odious, as gave way to Lambert to out them again, who set up a *Fools Bauble* called a *Committee of Safety*: thus were they led about by an *ignis fatuus*, which only train'd them to the sight, but would never bring them to the certainty of a settlement. To remedy these disorders, general Monk (who only waited for a fit opportunity to shew his loyalty to his king) hoping by these divisions the better to bring his designs about; having settled Scotland in a very good condition, and possessed himself of Barwick, marches with an army into England, (having before, to gain time for the settlement



ment of his army under confiding officers, and to weaken their forces by a Fabian delay, held them in suspense with a treaty.) All the way he marched, he was courted by the gentry of several counties for a free parliament; to whom he gave no other answers, but that he would use his utmost interest to persuade them to reason and justice; in the mean time wishing them to acquiesce in what they should order. The Rump also (who now were got into the house again) send Scot and Robinson unto him, under pretence of congratulating with him for the good success God had given to his endeavours; but their chief errand was to pry into his actions, and to make discovery of his proceedings.

On the 28 of January at night, the general arrived at St. Albans, where he had several addresses more made to him, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Buckingham, and Leicester; being come thither, he sends to the parliament to send their forces out of town, and quarter them according to the lists which he had sent them; which they readily ordered the commanders to see performed accordingly.

General Monk being now not far from London, those forces quarter'd in the city were ordered to march from thence, to make room for his excellencies souldiers: but they having learned of their masters to be rebellious, refused to go; and having cast off their officers, a considerable party of them engarison'd themselves in Somerset-House. That night also the apprentices drew themselves into a party in the city, intending (no doubt) to have joyned with the  
discon-



discontented red-coats; which had they done, they might have given a shrewd alarm to the Rump. The mutineers upon a false alarm were got out of the town, and having their mouths stopt with a little pay, were commanded away, leaving the town quiet, and in condition to entertain honefter guests.

February the 3d his excellency march'd in the head of his army to his quarters at White-Hall; on the 6th of the same month he was by Scot and Robinson, squires of the rump, conducted to that *Image of Authority* assembled in the house where the parliament usually sits; where he was by their pretended speaker complemented with a fawning speech, candied over with scripture-phrases to make it the more plausible. To which his excellency returned a more pertinent answer, informing them of the several applications and numerous subscriptions he received from most counties in his march from Scotland: the chiefest heads of their desires being for *a free and full Parliament, a Gospel-Ministry, encouragement of Learning and Universities, admittance of the Members seclused before 1648, and they would determine their Sitting, &c.* But these were matters they loved not to hear of, much less resolved to practice: yet seeing the peoples earnestness was such, and that it was in a manner the agreement of the whole nation; they at last most graciously condescended to promise a full representative, but no seclused members to be admitted, nor in effect any other than fanaticks.

*The supream Trifle* was now come to a forc'd put; monies must be raised to pay the souldiers, and



and the pride of the stubborn citizens taken down that would not let the Rump to ride them, or *the Good old Cause* would be totally ruin'd; in order to both, out comes a tax of 100000 *l. per mensem*: this being debated in common-council, they agreed in the negative; which so incensed the *Back-side*, that they adjudged the affront intollerable; and immediately pour'd out their indignation upon the city in these following resolves.

Thursday February 9.

*The House received a report from the Council of State, of some resolutions taken by the Council, in relation to the City of London.*

*Resolved, that the Parliament doth approve of what the Council of State hath done in ordering that the Commissioners for Government of the Army do appoint Forces to be and continue in the City of London, for preserving the Peace thereof, and of the Commonwealth, and for reducing of the City to the obedience of Parliament.*

*Resolved, That the Parliament doth approve of what the Council of State have done in ordering that the Commissioners for the Army do take order that the Posts and Chains in the City of London be taken away.*

*Resolved, That the Gates of the City of London, and the Portcullices there, be forthwith destroyed.*

*Resolved, That the Parliament doth approve of what the Council of State, and Commissioners of the Army have done, in seizing and apprehending of M. Vincent, Merchant, in Bishopsgate-street, and*



*Thomas Brown, Grocer, in Wood street, Daniel Spencer in Friday-Street, Lawrence Bromfield in Tower-street, Major Chamberlain, Mr. Bludworth, and Richard Ford in Seething-lane, Major Cox at the Swan in Dowgate, Mr. Penning in Fenchurch-street, and Lieutenant Colonel Jackson.*

*Resolved, That the present Common-Council of the City of London elected for this year, be discontinued, and be and are hereby declared to be null and void; and that the Lord Mayor of London have notice hereof.*

*Ordered, That it be referred to a committee to bring in a bill for the choice of another common-council, with such qualifications as the parliament shall think fit; with order to meet at eight of the clock in the speakers chamber to morrow morning.*

These resolves they send to the general to put in execution, intending with this stone to kill two birds, not only to bring the citizens in subjection, and to make them pay in their money; but also to create a hatred betwixt them and the general by this odious employment, of whose uniting they had more than an ordinary jealousy. However, his excellency in obedience to their commands, marches into the city with his whole army, seises on divers of their common-council, and sends them to the tower, digs up their posts, and breaks down their gates; and all done with such a seeming compliance to the Rump, that the surpriz'd citizens having now fear added to their slavery, durst hardly murmur, but with sighs and nods bid adieu to their liberty.

Whilest



Whilest his excellency was thus buſied in the city, the rump were as buſy as bees at Weſtminſter; and notwithstanding the general had ſo lately preſerved them, yet they moſt ungratefully fought his ruine.

First, they enter into a ſecret combination with the ſectaries, who upon their inſtigation preſent unto them *a representation and addreſs*, wherein was ſo little of divinity, that there was hardly any morality; however, with much formality it was preſented to them by one *Praise-God Barebone*, and others of the ſame gang: but this in ſtead of doing good did them hurt, for the people now plainly deſcrying the ruinous tenets of thoſe ſectaries, were the more reſolved againſt them, rather than terrified to ſee the Rump mounting up a faction againſt them.

And then alſo ſeeking to caſt Monk, (to whom lately they were ſo courteous) out of power, they paſſed a bill for the army to be governed by five commiſſioners, viz. general George Monk, ſir Arthur Haſlerig, colonel Herbert Morley, colonel Valentine Walton, and col. Mathew Allured; and that the *Quorum* of the commiſſioners be three. Had they brought this to paſs, they might have had the hopes to have held the peoples noſes ſtill to the grindſtone; but his excellency abhorring their perfidiouſneſs, and ſeeing their deſign was to fix themſelves in a perpetual council, all their qualifications with which they kept ſuch a ſtir, tending only to bring in ſuch as had been *the Kings Tryers, Excise-men, Sequeſtrators, Cloſe-Committee-men, Major Generals, Buyers and Sellers of the Church and Crown Lands, &c.* in brief, ſuch as lived upon  
 O o 2 the



the ruines of the common-wealth, and fear'd they should go naked, should every bird claim again his feather; so that the peoples representatives must represent them in all their tyrannies, else they were not to be admitted states-men.

Hereupon general Monk having performed the votes of the house for breaking down the gates, and pulling up the posts, and being come back to White-Hall, upon advice with his officers, thought fit to return again to the city the next morning with his whole force; but before he went, sends a letter to the parliament for the speedy filling up the house, and for putting a period to their sitting. In the afternoon he drew up his forces in Finsbury, and repairing after dinner to Guild-hall, he had a conference with the lord mayor and court of Aldermen, the conclusion whereof was such, as caused all the bells in the city to ring, and all the streets to blaze with bonfires; such a sudden change, history cannot tell of its parallel; wise men grew mad upon it, and mad men sober: the cryes, the bonfires, and the fume of roasted rumps did quite take down the legislative stomach; both men, women, and children, old and young, rich and poor, all sung forth the destruction of the long called parliament; the whole city was as it were on fire with bonfires for joy. And now those who formerly threatned the firing of the city, were now burnt at every door: for all the people cryed out, *Let us burn the Rump, let us roast the Rump*; yea such an *Odium* had they contracted to themselves, that they roasted carrion before the door of the house where they usually sat: no less than thirty  
eight



eight bonfires were made between Fleet-Conduit and Temple-Bar. To be short, there was scarce so much as one alley in the whole city, wherein there were not many bonfires. Next day being Sunday, all the churches echoed forth praises and thanks to God, private devotion not being wanting: nor was this joy confined only within the walls of the city, but since a publique mischief was removed, a publique rejoicing overspread the whole kingdom, and all the people with one accord shouted, clapped hands, and poured out joyful thanks for this great deliverance. So the wearied hare is delighted, and cheareth her self, when she hath shook off the bloudy hounds; and so a flock of sheep are at rest, when the ravenous wolves have newly left them.

Yet was not all this enough to put the rump out of countenance; they met again as formally as ever, and acted with a confidence that might excuse the common peoples jealousy over the general. Their grand design now was to frustrate the hopes of a free parliament, no stone was left unturned in order hereunto. The bolder and more ingenous sort of honest men were gather'd up by flying troops that they had every where dispersed to hinder a conjunction, threatening banishment and sequestration to the whole party of declarers. Nor did they want their specious pretences to insinuate with the vulgar; *The House should be immediately fill'd, the form of the Writ was already published, the qualifications agreed upon, and in fine, they would instantly proceed to a settlement of Church and State*; and was not this enough? what would they have more? the common-wealth men they were a birding too, telling  
O o 3 their



their pretty tales of Rome and Venice; *O the gallantry of those ancient Romans that banished Tarquin out of Rome!* In the mean time the presses are at work, by libels against the king, wherein he was sufficiently abused, particularly by a feign'd letter from Brussels, by arguments of interest, and by false intelligence to corrupt and deceive the people. Yet would not all do, the country were too sensible of the gross abuses and cheats they had put upon the nation.

The general willing they should be overcome as well by argument as force, easily yields to a proposition, that both sides might meet and speak what they could for themselves. The rump chose for themselves, St. John, Haslerig, Morley, Thompson, Ashley-Cooper, Weaver, White, Feilder, Hutchinson, and Rawleigh; on the part of the seclused members came, sir William Lewis, sir John Evelyn, sir John Holland, sir Gilbert Gerrard, colonel Popham, Mr. Annesly, Mr. Knightley, Mr. Crew, Mr. Trever, colonel Harley, colonel Norton, sir John Temple, and colonel Birch. These met at alderman Wales's house, then the general's quarters, where they had a long conference together before him, but came to no conclusion, because the sitting members durst not undertake for the rest of the house without their consent, which could not be known but by vote. But the general was fully bent to promote their admission so far, that if it could not be done by common consent, he resolved to admit them without it.

In fine, after some other short debates, it was at last resolved, that the seclused members should be admit-



admitted upon these two conditions: "that they should authorise the general, by order or act, to be generalissimo of the three nations, with all power to place and displace officers, to model or disband what numbers he pleased; and admiral of all the fleets and navies of this commonwealth; and then by another act or order dissolve that parliament: and this is to be done in one day (if possible) or two at most." The reason that was urg'd for these conditions, were the necessity of the time, not the ambition of the general, but the perswasion of those he consulted: for though the Scotch officers were well disposed to the return of the seclused members, yet the English officers did not well endure to hear of it: so that the same post that carried the news of their return, should tell also (along with it) of the dissolution of that present parliament; which would have amused or silenced all discontented.

Matters being thus happily carried on, the seclused members repaired to the house, usher'd by the adjutant-general major Miller, which they found open for them with all freedom; about fourscore appearing at the first sitting. They were no sooner entered, but fell instantly upon the nulling of those spurious orders which related to their first seclusion in December 1648, proceeding thence to the enlarging and confirming of the general's commission, and the disabling of the rumps commissioners for the government of the army; the discharging of prisoners illegally committed, and the appointment of a new convention April 25, 1660. The militia's they placed in good hands, and empowered



ered a council of state to govern in the next interval, consisting of one and thirty persons, whereof general Monk was one ; which being done, and provision made for a new election, March 16, they dissolv'd themselves, with great satisfaction to the people, who did acknowledge their latter end to have been better than their beginning.

In the mean time the general new modell'd the officers of his army, putting out those who were of factious turbulent dispositions, and putting in their places men of sober and peaceable inclinations, and quartering them in places most convenient for the quiet and peace of the nation.

Yet notwithstanding all these endeavours, the restless spirits of those fanaticks were never quiet, having their agitators very busy in the army, though the council of state put forth a proclamation against them ; these cursed firebrands, more fatal to England than Paris was to *Ilium*, having with their *Machiavillian* doctrine poyson'd a considerable party of the souldiers to head their faction. Lambert (by what means I know not) makes an escape out of the Tower, to which place not long before he had been committed, for refusing to sign an engagement of living peaceably ; hereupon the general placed four companies of his own regiment in the Tower, and the council of state issued forth a proclamation against him and his accomplices, requiring all persons whatsoever to be assistant to the suppression of them, and that whosoever should bring him in should have a hundred pounds for a reward,



reward. The citizens repair'd their posts and chains, strengthened their guards, and (in short) the whole nation was as vigilant as possible to disappoint in the grand conspiracy of the fanatics.

At last the hue and cry overtook the thief; Lambert is heard of with a party near Daventry, consisting of four troops of horse, viz. colonel Alureds, and major Nelthorps (which two gentlemen were then in London, and not in the least acquainted with their troops defection) captain Haslerig, and captain Clares, besides several anabaptists and other sectaries. Colonel Ingoldsbey having notice where he was, resolves to give him a visit; in his way his forlorn-hope meeting with captain Haslerig took him prisoner, but upon giving his parol, and a promise to send his troop to them, he was dismissed, which according to his engagement not long after came in, led by the cornet and quarter-master.

The enemy seeing himself too weak in arms, seeks to gain by art, and desires a parly, thinking thereby to increase their party; which they (being arm'd against the temptation of the fiend) are not unwilling to admit of: the main business they drove at, was under pretence of security to all interests, to perswade a re-admission of Richard Cromwel to his protectorship; which was well answer'd by a stout officer, telling them their only end in that was to set up one again whom they themselves had already learn'd to pull down; that they were under command, and knew it their duty not to dispute, but to submit to what orders they receiv'd from their superiours, which they likewise wish'd them to do. The dispute being ended, they prepare for action;



tion ; but colonel Alureds troop deserting them, Lambert seeing himself forsaken, seeks to fly : but providence had so order'd it, that notwithstanding he was mounted on a barbery, which might have hastned him in his flight, yet being on ploughed land, his horse was of little advantage to him : and now he who before had gained the name of stout and valiant in many battels, when he saw colonel Ingoldsby ride up to him and demand him prisoner, was presently taken without drawing his sword, and driven to that pittiful shift to cry out, *Pray my Lord let me escape, pray my Lord let me escape.* Creed also and the rest earnestly intreated him *to do what he pleased with them, but to permit Lambert to escape; acquainting him, That his Life could be of no advantage to him :* which Ingoldsby absolutely refused, telling them, *He would not be treacherous to those that had commanded him, by such an ungenerous act.* Lambert then turned about his horse, and attempted to escape ; but Ingoldsby pursued him so close, that he came quickly up to him, and vow'd to pistol him if he did not immediately yield ; with him were taken colonel Cobbet, major Creed, lieutenant-colonel Yong, captain Timothy Clare, captain Gregory, and captain Spinage ; who April the 24, (the day before the parliament sat) were brought up prisoners to the council, who after examination, committed Lambert, Cobbet, and Creed, close prisoners to the Tower.

And now great preparations were made for the ensuing parliament, of which our noble general was chosen a burges for the university of Cam-



Cambridge; which he declined, as being also chosen knight of the shire for Devonshire, his native country. On the 25 of April they met at Westminster, where the lords made choice of the earl of Manchester for their speaker, and the house of commons of sir Harbottle Grimstone; in which house of commons sat our general, not like a great commander, but an humble subject, who did not use to controul the orders of the house, nor impose his own sense or dictates, but submitted to their votes as the oracles of the people of all England. Both houses of parliament having given him their due acknowledgements for his eminent services and great wisdom in subduing his enemies without blood, magnifying the mercies of God that made him so instrumental to keep up the nations from sinking, when no way appeared whence deliverance should arise.

Sir John Grenvil (afterwards earl of Bath) hath layn *incognito* in London many weeks before, and held several treaties with the general in order to the king's service; he having full instructions from his majesty, with private letters to the general, and all manner of assurances of his majesties royal acceptation and sense of his service; which were deliver'd some weeks before those publick letters to the two houses and the general, which he with his great prudence so well improv'd, as the work of his majesties happy restauration was upon the matter concluded before any publick debate. At the same time also his majesty was graciously pleased to send him his royal commission to command all his forces  
in



in the three nations, by the same sir John Greenvil, by which he acted to the day of his death.

Great was the joy of the whole nation to see our grand council restor'd again to their former priviledges, a large step to our ancient freedom; which joy was re-doubled, when on the first of May, sir John Greenvil deliver'd his majesties letters and declaration to both houses of parliament and general Monk. His letters speak his piety, and unwearied care for his subjects prosperity; desiring rather to prepare and improve the affections of his subjects at home for his restauration, than to procure assistance from abroad (tho' then propounded to him) to invade either of his kingdoms. Our intended brevity will not permit us to give you a draught of them all, only we must not omit his gracious letter to the general, as being most pertinent to our purpose,

**To** our trusty and well-beloved General Monk, to be by him communicated to the President and Council of State, and to the Officers of the Armies under his Command.

**CHARLES R.**

“ **T**RUSTY and well-beloved, we greet you  
 “ well. It cannot be believed, but that we  
 “ have been, are, and ever must be, as sollicitous  
 “ as we can by all endeavours to improve the af-  
 “ fections of our good subjects at home, and to  
 “ procure the assistance of our friends and allies  
 “ abroad, for the recovery of that right which  
 “ by the laws of God and man is unquestionable,  
 “ and



“ and of which we have been so long dispossessed  
“ by such force and with those circumstances as  
“ we do not desire to aggravate by any sharp ex-  
“ pressions, but rather wish that the memory of  
“ what is passed may be buried to the world ;  
“ that we have more endeavoured to prepare  
“ and to improve the affections of our subjects  
“ at home for our restoration, than to procure  
“ assistance from abroad to invade either of our  
“ kingdoms, is as manifest to the world ; and  
“ we cannot give a better evidence that we are  
“ still of the same minde, than in this conjunc-  
“ ture, when common reason must satisfy all  
“ men, that we cannot be without assistance  
“ from abroad, we choose rather to send to you,  
“ who have it in your own power to prevent that  
“ ruine and desolation which a war would bring  
“ upon the nation, and to make the whole kingdom  
“ owe the peace, happiness, security and glory  
“ it shall enjoy, to your virtue ; and to acknow-  
“ ledge that your armies have complied with  
“ their obligations, for which they were first  
“ raised, for the preservation of the protestant  
“ religion, the honour and dignity of the king,  
“ the priviledges of parliament, the liberty and  
“ property of the subjects, and the fundamental  
“ laws of the land ; and that you have vindicated  
“ that trust, which others most perfidiously  
“ abused and betrayed.

“ How much we desire and resolve to contri-  
 “ bute to those good ends, will appear to you by  
 “ our enclosed declaration, which we desire you  
 “ to cause to be published for the information  
 “ and satisfaction of all good subjects, who de-  
 “ sire not a further effusion of precious christian  
 blood



“ blood, but to have their peace and security  
“ founded upon that which can onely support it,  
“ an unity of affections amongst ourselves, an  
“ equal administration of justice to men, resto-  
“ ring parliaments to a full capacity of providing  
“ for all that is amiss, and the laws of the land  
“ to their due veneration.

“ You have been yourselves witness of so ma-  
“ ny revolutions, and have had so much expe-  
“ rience how far any power and authority that is  
“ onely assumed by passion and appetite, and not  
“ supported by justice, is from providing for the  
“ happiness and peace of the people, or from  
“ receiving any obedience from them, without  
“ which no government can provide for them :  
“ and that you may very reasonably believe that  
“ God hath not been so well pleased with the at-  
“ tempts that have been made, since he hath  
“ usually increased the confusion, by giving all  
“ the success that hath been desired, and brought  
“ that to pass without effect, which the design-  
“ ers have proposed as the best means to settle  
“ and compose the nation ; and therefore we  
“ cannot but hope and believe, that you will  
“ concur with us in the remedy we have apply'd,  
“ which to humane understanding is onely pro-  
“ per for the ills we all groan under ; and that  
“ you will make yourselves the blessed instru-  
“ ments to bring this blessing of peace and re-  
“ conciliation upon king and people, it being  
“ the usual method in which divine Providence  
“ delighteth itself, to use and sanctifie those very  
“ means, which ill men design for the satisfaction  
“ of private and particular ends and ambition,  
“ and other wicked purposes, to wholesome and  
pub-



“ publick ends ; and to establish that good which  
“ is most contrary to the designers ; which is the  
“ greatest manifestation of God’s particular  
“ kindness to a nation that can be given in this  
“ world. How far we resolve to preserve your  
“ interests, and reward your services, we refer to  
“ our declaration ; and we hope God will inspire  
“ you to perform your duty to us, and to your  
“ native country, whose happiness cannot be se-  
“ parated from each other.

“ We have intrusted our well-beloved servant  
“ sir John Greenvil, one of the Gentlemen of  
“ our bedchamber, to deliver this unto you, and  
“ to give us an accompt of your reception of it,  
“ and to desire you that it may be published, and  
“ so we bid you farewell.

“ Given at our court at Breda this 14 of  
“ April 1660, in the twelfth year of  
“ our reign.”

This letter, with the king’s declaration, the  
general communicated to his officers, who re-  
ceived it with much joy ; and to express the real  
satisfaction they had of his majesties bountiful  
clemency, and their own loyalty, they presented  
this following address to his excellency.

To



To his Excellency the Lord General Monk,  
 Captain-General of all the Armies and  
 Forces in England, Scotland, and Ire-  
 land, and one of the Generals at Sea.

*The humble Address of the Officers of your Excel-  
 lencies army, in the name of themselves and their  
 their Brethren.*

“ **A**LTHOUGH we cannot doubt of  
 “ your excellencies confidence in our  
 “ affections and our faithfulness to your excel-  
 “ lency, and that discipline which by your good  
 “ and prudent conduct hath been exercised over  
 “ us, whereby we are instructed to an intire obe-  
 “ dience to your excellency, and that authority  
 “ which the Lord shall place over us ; which we  
 “ hope we have manifested in our last actions  
 “ under your excellency against all persons what-  
 “ soever, in any ways disturbing the peace and  
 “ settlement of the nations, although some of  
 “ them have been our brethren formerly engaged  
 “ in the same cause with us : as also in our late  
 “ remonstrance and address to your excellency,  
 “ wherein, as it becomes us in duty, we have  
 “ solemnly declared to acquiesce in what the lord  
 “ shall bring forth from the consultations of this  
 “ present parliament.

“ Yet in regard your excellency hath been plea-  
 “ sed to communicate to us a letter and declara-  
 “ tion from the king’s majesty, full of gracious  
 “ expressions ; we cannot but acknowledge that the  
 “ matter of it gives a great measure of quiet to  
 “ our minds, and more than ordinary expecta-  
 tions



“ tions of the enjoyment of much tranquility  
 “ and happiness under his majesties government.  
 “ The free and general indemnity offer'd by  
 “ his majesty, with a liberty to tender consciences,  
 “ satisfaction of arrears, his readiness to consent  
 “ to a confirmation of sales, and other grants  
 “ and purchases of estates to all persons now in  
 “ possession of the same, is that of which we  
 “ cannot doubt of the real performance, being  
 “ left by his majesty to the parliaments deter-  
 “ mination ; so we believe it is the most proba-  
 “ ble way to bring the nations to their desired  
 “ settlement. And we hope to evince to his ma-  
 “ jesty and to all the world, That we are his ma-  
 “ jesties loyal subjects, and that your excellency,  
 “ and the armies under your command, have  
 “ complied with the obligations for which they  
 “ were first raised ; for the preservation of the  
 “ true protestant religion, the honour and dig-  
 “ nity of the king, the priviledges of parlia-  
 “ ment, the liberty and property of the subject,  
 “ and the fundamental laws of the land.”

With this address, and other letters, Mr.  
 Clarges was dispatched from the general and the  
 council of officers to his majesty on the fifth day  
 of May, and was received with a great deal of  
 kindness by his majesty, who conferred upon  
 him the honour of knighthood ; and afterwards  
 bestowed many further bounties upon him. On  
 the 8th day of May the general assisted at the  
 proclamation of his majesty, which was perform-  
 ed with great magnificence in the cities of West-  
 minster and London, by many of the lords and  
 commons, and with such extraordinary joy and



content of the people as cannot be expressed. And now in the next place all the preparations imaginable were making ready to receive his majesty. A royal fleet was sent to attend his transportation, commanded by general Montague; whilst the general with a great number of the nobility and gentry set forth towards Dover, on the 22d day of May, there to receive the fruit of all his labours and cares: great was the expectation of all that were present, to see the meeting of the king and the general; the admirers of majesty were jealous on his majesties behalf, of too low condescension; and the lovers of duty fearful on the other side, of an ostentation of merit: but such an humble prostration was made by the general, and so generous a reception by his majesty, kissing and embracing him, that all parties were satisfied to admiration. And his excellency from that time received so great an impression of the marvellous goodness of his majesty, that he resolved what before he had performed out of bounden duty to his liege lord, should be for ever continued with the same observance, out of loyal affections to his gracious sovereign.

His majesty made no long stay at Dover, but rode to Canterbury, where the next day he dignified his excellency with the honour of the garter: his royal highness the duke of York, and the duke of Gloucester, in great testimony of respect to him, assisted at the ceremony, and put on the Garter and the George. And that evening his majesty sent him a warrant to be master of his horse.

The king hastened to be at London the 29th of May, (the day of his birth) through which he made



made a most magnificent procession, the particulars whereof we shall over-pass, which you may read at large in the continuation of sir Richard Bakers chronicle, and come to that which is more to our purpose. About the beginning of July he was by letters patent under the great seal of England made duke of Albemarle, earl of Torrington, baron Monk of Potheridge, Beau-champe and Tees, and summoned by writ to the house of peers, whither all the members of the commons almost were pleased with great joy to accompany him. The titles of Albemarle and Beauchampe were conferred on him, because he was descended from Margaret one of the daughters and coheirs of Richard Beauchampe earl of Albemarle and Warwick, who was married to the famous warrior John Talbot earl of Shrewsbury, in those days well known in France, whose son had only one daughter, married to Edward Grey viscount Lisle, whose daughter and heir Elizabeth Grey was married to Arthur Plantagenet, a natural son of king Edward the fourth, who was in her right viscount Lisle; and Frances one of the daughters and co-heirs of the said viscount Lisle, was married to sir Thomas Monk great grandfather to this George duke of Albemarle.

And now to satisfy the curiosity of some who desire to know from whence this title of Albemarle is derived, take this in short from the pen of a very good author.

“ Aumarl or Albemarle is the name of a small town and territory in the dukedom of Normandy. It belonged heretofore to Stephen the son of Odo, descended from the earls of Champagne, whom William the Conqueror



“ made earl of Albemarle as being the son of his  
 “ half sister by the mother’s side ; and gave un-  
 “ to him for the further maintenance of his estate,  
 “ the territory of Holdernefs in Yorkshire. This  
 “ title he enjoyed, and left it to his posterity, who  
 “ enjoyed it also. And when his issue failed,  
 “ the kings of England honoured others with  
 “ it, though they had long since lost their estate in  
 “ Normandy ; the dukes and earls whereof take  
 “ thus in order :

- |       |                                                                                |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1095. | 1. Stephen son of Odo earl of Bloys,                                           |
| 1128. | 2. William Le Gros.                                                            |
| 1182. | 3. William de Magneville earl of<br>Essex by Harrys daughter of Will. de Gros. |
| 1191. | 4. William de Fortibus.                                                        |
| 1196. | 5. William de Fortibus.                                                        |
| 1244. | 6. William de Fortibus.                                                        |
| 1258. | 7. Thomas de Fortibus.                                                         |
|       | 8. Thomas of Woodstock duke of<br>Gloc.                                        |

- |       |                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|-------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1378. | 9. Edward Plantagenet D. L. Adm.                                                                                                                                                          |
| 1412. | 10. Thomas D. of Clarence E.                                                                                                                                                              |
|       | 11. Richard Beauchamp earl of War-<br>wick, created earl of Albemarle by king Hen-<br>ry the sixth, from whom was descended this<br>noble general Monk, as before we have de-<br>clared.” |

The ancient Romans so placed their temple of  
*Honour*, that none could come at it but must  
 first pass thorough the temple of *Virtue*. This  
 our generals loyal virtue brought him into the  
 temple of honour, being besides his other titles,  
*one of his majesties most honourable privy council,*  
*master of his majesties horse, gentleman of the bed-*  
*chamber, one of the commissioners of the treasury,*  
*lord-*



lord-lieutenant of the counties of Devon and Middlesex, with the borough of Southwark and lines of communication; two as great trusts as any were in England. And to maintain this princely honour, besides the pension in the patent, his majesty settled for ever seven thousand pounds per annum out of the royal revenue to him and his heirs. And thus did he live in honour and renown, beloved of all, but such as loved not the peace and welfare of the kingdom; being always very active for the quiet and good of the nation, by new modeling the army, setting the chief of the loyal nobility at the head of the several regiments, on purpose to dispose them for their better disbanding. In 1665 it pleased God to send a grievous pestilence upon the city of London and parts adjacent, when almost every house was marked with a *Lord have Mercy on us*, and all the musick in the night was the sad sound of *Bring out your Dead*, which like dung were thrown into a cart, and tumbled into a pit without numbering: Death then rode triumphant through every street, as if it would have swallow'd all mortality; nothing was heard but knells and tolling of bells, and cries out of houses to pray for them. In this great exigency, when many ministers fled from their charge, and left their people a prey to seducers, which did not a little encrease the dissenters from the church of England; and when the emissaries of the church of Rome were busy plying about in this miserable time to gain proselytes; when the general might also have taken the same liberty that others did, either to have attended his majesty,



or retired to his country house; yet then with the greatest courage did he stand in the gap till the plague ceased, and took care of the publick peace, and of the private fortunes of every citizen (the merchants and tradesmen having left all their goods, and many of them no servants to watch them) so that a little sedition of the poor people, might have exposed all to spoil and rapine; yet did he then venture his life to secure their properties. His charity at the same time being also superabundant, not only out of his private purse, but also in a just distribution of those vast sums that were sent from the king and court, and all other parts of England: nor was this all, his majesties absence loaded him with other business, keeping a constant correspondence with the lord chancellor, and the principal secretaries of state, as also with the chief commanders of the fleet, the officers of the ordnance, and commissioners of the navy, besides his business of the army, and care of the publick peace; when such great opportunities threatened publick danger.

That summer brake out the Dutch war, in which his royal highness the duke of York engaged with much courage and magnanimity, obtaining over them a glorious victory, to his perpetual honour and renown. In November following, his majesty being not willing his royal brother should expose himself any further to such dangers, he and his council at Oxford, consulting the prosecution of the Dutch war, resolved that the high and mighty prince Rupert, prince palatine of the Rhine, duke of Bavaria, duke of Cumberland, &c. with the general, should by  
com-



commission be join'd with equal authority to command the royal fleet for the next summer; which being intimated to them, they accordingly provided themselves for this great undertaking, and on St. George's day in April 1666, they took their leave of their majesties and the whole court, and imbarqu'd at White-Hall-Stairs, and so arriv'd at the fleet.

June 1 the fleets began to engage, which continued off and on for many days, to great loss on either side. Our intended brevity will not permit us to give you a relation of such long particulars; let it suffice, both generals in their places did with much prudence act gallantly, and whatever the Dutch or any for them may talk of a victory, it is well known that such another would have undone them.

About the 6th of September his majesty sent for him from sea, who return'd with great speed, and was received with very much grace and favour by his majesty and the whole court.

From that time forward his whole study (next to the service of God) was how to serve his royal master in the best offices he could perform, tho' hindred much therein by many and dangerous sicknesses; yet was not his will wanting to the last end of his life, which happened on Monday the 3d of January 1669, at his house at New-Hall in Essex, having in the time of his sickness been often visited by his majesty, his royal highness, the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord Arlington, and several other lords and honourable persons, all condoling the loss of so worthy a person as he was for his king and country.

He



He being embalm'd, was carried to Somerset-House and there expos'd with a royal state and attendance for many weeks: from thence his body was conducted to Westminster, with as much splendor and pomp as art and cost could bestow, and there in his majesties chappel royal in the Quire lodged in great state. His body being entombed among the monuments of the kings and queens in Henry the seventh his chapel, there to rest in peace, whose fame will live till time shall be no more.

He had two sons, whereof the youngest named George died at Dalkieth in Scotland, and was buried in the chancel of that church; his eldest son Christopher survided him, being heir of his virtues as well as titles, duke of Albemarle, earl of Torrington, baron Monk of Potheridge, Beauchampe and Tees, knight of the most honourable order of the Garter, and one of the gentlemen of his majesties bed chamber. Who about four days before his fathers decease, was married to the lady Elizabeth Cavendish, a virtuous and most noble lady, daughter to the right honourable the earl of Ogle; to the great satisfaction of the general, who much desired, and happily lived to see the marriage consummated.



*Observations on the Life of Prince  
Rupert, Prince Palatine of the  
Rhine, Duke of Cumberland,  
&c.*

I Think I shall not need an apology for inserting the life of this noble *hero* amongst our English Worthies, who though born in Germany, yet for his valiant acts, and prudent actings for our king and country, deserveth of us a statue of brass, and his name to be had in everlasting remembrance.

He was second son of Frederick prince elector palatine of the Rhine, (afterwards chosen king of Bohemia) and the illustrious princess Elizabeth, daughter to king James, sister to king Charles the first, and aunt to our present sovereign. He was born December 17 anno 1619. One who had formerly been a servant to her highness, travelling to Prague in Bohemia, to present his service to his royal mistress, thus writes of him: "Moreover there I saw, (and had in my arms) the king and queen's youngest son prince Rupert, who was born there on the 16 of December last (he reckons a day sooner than our account) a goodly child as ever I saw of that age, whom with the rest I pray God to bless."

In the year 1632, being then about thirteen years of age, he marched with the prince of Orange



Orange to the siege of Rhynbergh, where he gave the world the first proof of his valour and conduct, doing acts far beyond those to be expected in such tender years. Afterwards, in the year 1637, at the age of eighteen, he commanded a regiment of horse in the German wars; and 1638 was taken prisoner by the Imperialists, under the command of captain Hatzfield, where he was detained three years, having in that time many promises made him of freedom and preferment if he would have changed his religion, all which with a christian fortitude he stoutly withstood; and afterwards having obtained his liberty, in the year 1642, he came into England.

About the beginning of September, our noble prince, together with his brother prince Maurice, offer'd their service to the king their uncle; whom presently he put into command. Prince Rupert within a fortnight after his arrival commanded a small party of those forces which the king had at that time gathered together, with which he marched into divers parts of Warwick-shire, Nottingham-shire, Leicester-shire, Worcester-shire, and Cheshire, his forces still encreasing as he marched. Soon after he marched to Worcester, then besieged by captain Fines, forcing him to dislodge: and having notice that colonel Sandys with a regiment of parliament-horse, with the assistance of Wingate, Hales, Fines and Austin, were drawing together to attack him; he drew out into a green meadow near adjoining, to which the pass that led was only a narrow lane, wherein four at most could march a-breast. The prince taking the advantage thereof, fell upon them there, where the rear could  
not



not come up to assist the van, nor the van retreat without great disorder; whereby they were quickly overthrown; Dowglas, colonel Sandys his major was slain, and the colonel's own cornet; he himself was desperately wounded, and many of his souldiers killed. The prince after the fight drew into Worcester; but hearing Essex was marching thither with his whole army, he went away to Ludlow twenty miles from thence.

At Edge-Hill fight, which was the 23 of October 1642, he signalized his valour by discharging the part of a valiant and couragious commander; which battel being much descanted upon to whom the victory belonged, we shall therefore give you the larger account of it.

The king that morning drew his army to Edge-Hill, and Essex intended to rest all Sunday in Keinton, to expect two regiments of foot, 11 troops of horse, and 7 pieces of cannon, who were a days march behind him; but when he heard the king's army was in the field, he drew his army into battalia, consisting of 12000 foot in twelve regiments, and 40 troops of horse and dragooners. The king's army was esteemed about ten thousand foot, and about 4000 horse and dragooners, but most of the foot very ill armed. At the bottom of Edge-hill, there was a large plain, called the Vale of the Red Horse, where Essex drew his army into battalia, about half a mile distant from the foot of Edge-hill. The main battel of the king's army was led on by the earl of Lindsey on foot, with a pike in his hand: Prince Rupert commanded the king's right wing, wherein was the greatest strength of horse; and general Ruthen and commissary Wilmot,



in the left. The right wing of the parliaments horse was commanded by sir Philip Stapleton; and the left, which had the greatest force, by sir James Ramfey, then commissary general; the general himself was in the main body, and sir John Meldrum had the van. The king perceiving the hedges near the hill lined by some musketeers of Essex his army, sent major Bostock and captain Hammond of sir Lewis Dives his regiment down the hill to remove them; but in the mean time Essex caused three pieces of cannon to be fired upon the king's army, which was answered from the king with the like number; and then the battel began, and was continued with such fury, that near six thousand were slain upon the place, and the parliaments army was in great danger to have been totally ruined that day, with so absolute a victory on the king's side, that in all probability this blow might have put a conclusion to the war, if it had not been for a brigade of fresh men, which was seasonably brought in under the command of Hambden to their relief. This succour gave Essex his broken troops time to rally, and put them in a condition of maintaining the dispute; which they did with so much resolution, that it was a long while doubtful what might be the event of the battel, till in the end, prince Rupert having wholly routed Essex his left wing, fell in to the assistance of those regiments that were overpowered, and so secured the victory to the king's party, which was before dubious. The king's standard was taken, but regained by captain Smith, who for that service was in the field knighted Banneret. Those of quality that were lost on the kings  
side



side, were, the earl of Lindsey, the lord Aubigny, and sir Edward Verney the king's standard-bearer, who being offer'd his life by a throng of his enemies, upon condition he would deliver the standard, he answered, "that his life was his own, and he could dispose of it; but the standard was his and their soveraign's, and he would not deliver it while he lived, and he hoped it would be rescued when he was dead;" as it was by captain Smith, as we shewed before. Of the parliament's side many were slain, but few of equal note in that service to those of the king.

Both sides laid claim to the victory, but it went clearly on the king's part, who though he lost his general, yet he kept the field, and possessed the dead bodies, and rifled all the waggons and carriages of the enemy; and not so only, but he made his way open to London, which the earl before endeavoured to hinder; and in the very sight as it were of the earl of Essex, he took Banbury-castle, where he had 1500 arms; and finally, enter'd triumphantly into Oxford with no fewer than a hundred and fifty colours. Amongst the papers of the earl of Essex, a letter was found from one Blake that attended the king, and held correspondence with the enemy; for which he was tryed by a court martial, and condemned, and executed betwixt Oxford and Abington.

Soon after this, our heroick prince set forth a declaration, of which we shall only give you a taste of the beginning of it, our intended brevity not permitting us to recite it at large.

“ It



“ It will seem strange no doubt to see me in  
 “ print, my known disposition being so clean  
 “ contrary to this scribbling age; and surely I  
 “ had not put my self upon a declaration, if in  
 “ common prudence I could have done other-  
 “ wise.

“ I need not tell the world, for it is too well  
 “ known, what malicious lying pamphlets are  
 “ printed against me almost every morning,  
 “ whereby those busy men strive to render me  
 “ as odious as they would have me; against  
 “ whom doubtless I had sooner declared, but  
 “ that I quickly found this mutinous lying spirit  
 “ would easily be convinced, but never silenced;  
 “ which as it ceaseth at no time, so it spareth no  
 “ person: and this was too evident to me, by  
 “ those audacious lyes vended against their own  
 “ king and soveraign, and my gracious and royal  
 “ uncle, &c.”

But to proceed, in the year 1643, the parliament having drawn a great strength into Cirencester, the king being very much displeased at it, commanded the prince with four thousand horse and foot to attempt seizing the town; to which purpose he marched by with his army, as if he intended to attempt Sudley-castle, which had not long before been taken by Massey; but suddenly turning again, fell upon them unexpectedly with his whole force, and after an hour's resistance carried the place, taking 1100 prisoners, and 3000 arms.

But should I go about to enumerate all his actions, it would of it self make a sufficient volume; which were so many and great, that his majesty in consideration of his great service and  
 valour,



valour, advanced him to be a peer of this realm, by creating him duke of Cumberland and earl of Holdernefs.

To come to the battel at Marston-moor. In the spring 1644, he march'd to the relief of York, then besieged by the joynt forces of three armies; the Scots, Manchesters, and Fairfax's. In his way thither, he did the king excellent service, by taking in Longford, and Tonge-castle in Shrop-shire, Stopford in Cheshire, Bolton in Lancashire, and raising the siege of Latham-house, defended eighteen months by the martial countess of Derby, as we have declared before in that earl's life. From thence he march'd to the relief of York, wherein the marquess of Newcastle had been besieged two months: upon the princes approach they drew off their army, and thereupon the prince and the marquiss march'd after them to a plain call'd Marston-moor, about four miles from York, where on the third of July a terrible fight began, in which the prince at first had much the better, taking their ordnance, and many of them prisoners; insomuch that general Lesley and the lord Fairfax thinking all had been lost, fled many miles from the place where the battel was fought, and never came to the remainder of their army, till two days after the fight; but in conclusion, by a wonderful and unexpected fatality, the fortune of the day turned, and the parliament-forces recover'd their lost ordnance, and took some of the prince's baggage, and with it sir Charles Lucas, colonel Porter, and colonel Tilliard, prisoners. In this battel were slain on his majesties part, the lord Cary, sir Thomas Metham, colonel Eure, colonel Towne-ly,



ly, with some others of note, and about 1500 common souldiers. On the parliament's part were slain sir Charles Fairfax, with many other of their commanders, and at least three thousand souldiers.

The prince with about six thousand horse and dragoons retired to Thurst, and so through Lancashire and Shropshire, the way he came; yet he did with his scattered troops skirmish with, and defeat several parties of the parliament souldiers upon the Severne, whereabout he then quarter'd. So variable is the event of war, that this great *Hero*, who but the other day had given battle to thirty thousand men, was now forced to trifle up and down with a brigade or two, and to watch the advantage of a private and commodious march, being dogged by a squadron or two of horse at Aust-ferry, where between some of his forces and colonel Massey there was a small skirmish; but the prince made good his retreat.

In that fatal fight at Naseby he behav'd himself with incredible valour, charging the parliament's left wing, commanded by Ireton, who made notable resistance, but at last was forc'd to give ground, Ireton himself being run thorow the thigh with a pike, and into the face with a halbert, his horse shot under him, and he himself taken prisoner, the prince following the chace almost to Naseby town; but in the other parts of the army the case was quite different, the king's left wing, and after his main battel was quite routed, and forced in the greatest disorder and confusion imaginable to retire towards Leicester.

This great overthrow struck the very foundation of the king's side: for after this fatal fight he



he was never able to make head against the conquerer, losing the same year one garison after another, till his whole strength was almost reduced to Oxford. But my pen grows weary of writing these intestine broyls; no war so bad as civil war.

After all was lost in England, prince Rupert with his brother prince Maurice, went over into France, and from thence accompanied prince Charles into Holland; engaging with him with that part of the navy that revolted to him from the parliament in 1648, they came into Yarmouth-Road with a design to land, and attempt the relief of Colchester; which not succeeding, they weigh'd anchor and stood into the Downes, and landed five hundred men to endeavour the relief of Sandwich, Walmore, and Deal-castles; who being opposed and worsted, and wanting provision in his fleet, return'd again to Holland, where he was constituted by prince Charles admiral of the fleet; wherewith in the year 1649, he sailed into Ireland, from thence to Lisbon, and afterwards into divers parts of the Adriatick-sea, taking several ships and prizes, and afterwards was very conversant in the Emperours and French court, passing away his time in princely studies and exercises, until the happy restauration of his majesty, and then return'd into England, to declare his acquiescing, and bear his part in that universal joy wherewith the English nation was then filled, upon the account of that surprizing and miraculous change. And was 1662, made a privy counsellor by his majesty, who had justly conceived an extraordinary opinion of his wisdom and conduct, he being no less a politick

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statesman than a courageous general, and thereby able to give advice in time of peace, as to command in time of war.

Yet long did not this martial *Hero* live in peace; for the wars breaking out betwixt the Dutch and us, he engaged very vigorously therein, both with his royal highness the duke of York, in 1665, as also in the year 1666, with general Monk, as we have more particularly related in his life. In the year 1673, he went forth again general at sea; where what he performed against the Dutch, take a great part thereof from his own words in a letter to the right honourable the earl of Arlington, his majesties principal secretary of state.

To the Earl of Arlington, his Majesties principal Secretary of State, from on board the Royal Charles, off of the Oster-Bank, the twenty ninth of May, distant from East-Capel seven Leagues, at one afternoon.

“ I Give you herein an account of our action  
 “ yesterday being the twenty eighth, such as  
 “ at present can be made, having not had time  
 “ to learn the particulars of the enemies losses.  
 “ The foul weather before having given an opportunity and leisure to sound all the sands, on  
 “ the twenty seventh it was resolved at a council  
 “ of war held here on board with the flag-officers,  
 “ to attack the enemy riding at anchor, in a line  
 “ between the Rand and the Stony-bank.

“ Accord-



“ Accordingly a squadron was then ordered  
 “ out of the several divisions of the fleet (whereof  
 “ the eldest captain was to command each party)  
 “ consisting in all of 35 frigates, and 13 fire-  
 “ ships, besides small crafts to sound before  
 “ them. Yesterday morning about eight of the  
 “ clock they drew out of their squadrons, and  
 “ sailed towards the enemy, the wind at S. S.  
 “ W. and by twelve of the clock engaged the  
 “ van of them, commanded by Trump. We  
 “ were forced to engage sooner than I intended,  
 “ to prevent the enemies getting the wind. The  
 “ squadron commanded by Trump was so prest  
 “ by us, that it gave way and retired as far as  
 “ the sands would give them leave. The squa-  
 “ dron commanded by de Ruyter, fell to the  
 “ share of count d’Estrees and the French, who  
 “ behaved themselves very bravely. Sir Edward  
 “ Spragg likewise on his side maintained the  
 “ fight with so much courage and resolution,  
 “ that their whole body gave way; so that had  
 “ it not been for fear of the shoals, he had driven  
 “ them into their harbours, and the king would  
 “ have had a better account of them. The case  
 “ being thus, and the night approaching, I  
 “ judged it fit to stand a little off, and to anchor  
 “ here where I now ride.

“ The enemy hath received a considerable  
 “ loss, which they will not easily repair, having  
 “ many men slain, many ships disabled, and  
 “ some destroyed. De Ruyter and Trump,  
 “ ran a great hazard of being burned by some  
 “ of our fire-ships, if they had done as they  
 “ ought to have done. Our losses are very in-  
 “ considerable, two of our ships onely being dis-  
 “ abled,



“ abled, viz. the Cambridge and the Resolution,  
 “ which I shall send home to refit; the rest of  
 “ our work will be easily done here. We have  
 “ lost very few common men, and as yet I have  
 “ an account but of these officers slain; captain  
 “ Fowles, captain Woerden, and captain Finck;  
 “ colonel Hamilton has his leg shot off; all the  
 “ officers and common sea-men generally beha-  
 “ ved themselves very well, of which I shall send  
 “ the particulars when I am better informed: in  
 “ my squadron more especially captain Leg, sir  
 “ John Holmes, captain Wetwang, captain  
 “ Story, sir Roger Strickland, and sir William  
 “ Reeves; the first took a ship of the enemies,  
 “ and the latter brought up a fire-ship, and laid  
 “ himself to lee-ward of Trump; and if the  
 “ captain of the fire-ship had done his duty,  
 “ Trump had certainly been burnt: notwith-  
 “ standing which, Story and Wetwang so bela-  
 “ boured them, that Reeves cleared himself of  
 “ the enemies. I hope his majesty will be satis-  
 “ fied, that considering the place we engaged  
 “ in, and the sands, there was as much done as  
 “ could be expected. And thus I leave it to his  
 “ majesties favourable construction, to whom I  
 “ wish many happy years to come, this being his  
 “ birth-day.

“ Rupert.”

Several days after did the fleets engage at times, but in the conclusion, the English obtain'd a glorious victory.

Soon after was a peace concluded betwixt the two nations: and now he having no further opportunity



portunity to serve his majesty, and signalize his valour in martial enterprizes, found himself at leisure to prosecute his chymical and philosophical studies; wherein he had made some progress before, but now applyed himself to it with more seriousness and attention than ever, and took so much delight therein, that it rendered the hardest and most unpleasing part of it sweet and pleasant to him, actually performing the most difficult and laborious operations himself; not disdaining the most sooty and unpleasant labour of the meanest mechanick; witness his forge and his furnaces, from which he hath by his industry furnished us with many curious arts and useful inventions, whilest others are forced to content themselves with empty speculations, because they only study the theory, and intrust others to perform the practick part for them.

And thus our noble and generous prince spent the remainder of his years in a sweet and sedate repose, free from the confused noise and clamors of war, wherewith he had in his younger years been strangely tost like a ship upon the boisterous waves of fickle and unconstant fortune.

He departed this life the 29 day of November in the morning, 1682, at his house in the Spring-Garden near White-Hall, and was on the 6th of December following, interred amongst the royal family, on the south side of king Henry the seventh's chappel in Westminster-Abbey.

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